

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

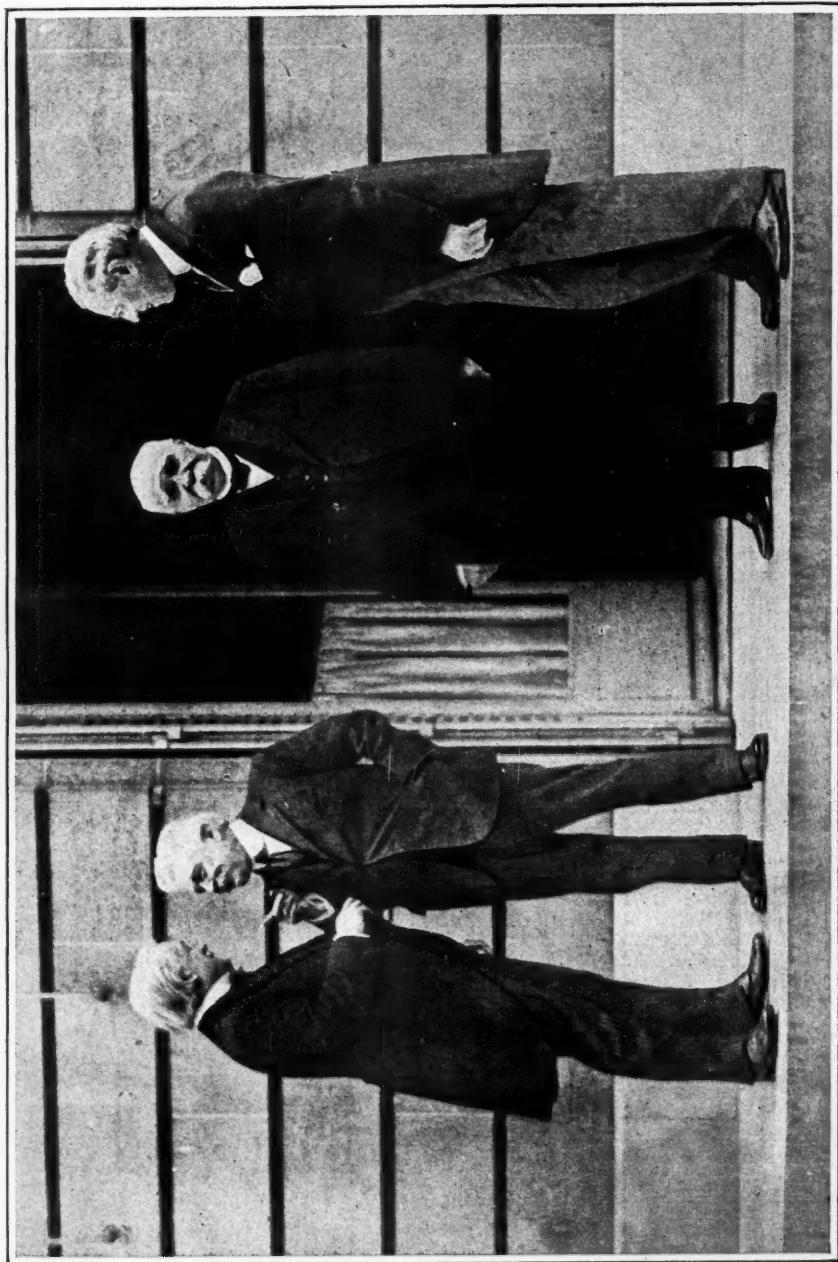
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THE COUNCIL OF FOUR, WHOSE DECISIONS WERE FINAL IN THE PEACE CONFERENCE

(In the early days of the conference there was a Council of Ten—the Premiers and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, and the President and Secretary of State of the United States. Later this was reduced to five, and when Japan withdrew from participation in the settlements of Europe it became a Council of Four. In the final days Japan was again represented. In the picture, from left to right, are Premier Lloyd George, Premier Sonnino, Premier Clemenceau, and President Wilson.)

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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Europe's Economic Wreckage

The month of June opened with the outlines of European peace slowly but steadily emerging out of the fogs of discord and strife. The chief mistake of the Peace Conference at Paris had been its failure to deal promptly with economic conditions. Militarism, as a colossal system centering in dynastic empires, was evidently doomed. A new political system, based upon the rights of free peoples, was growing out of inherent conditions, with the formal approval of the Peace Conference. A society of nations was in process of formation with a view to the averting of future war and the harmonizing of interests. However, while these valuable but difficult objects were under negotiation, Europe was suffering unspeakably from the paralysis of industry. The best achievements of the Peace Conference looking to the world's permanent order and safety were in danger of being overwhelmed and destroyed through the neglect and postponement of economic restoration. However well organized the Peace Conference was for the political and military matters it has had chiefly in view, it was not well organized or well led for the purposes of an immediate transition from the business of war to the business of saving Europe from anarchy and chaos, by the wholesome method of setting everybody at work in fields and factories, in commerce and in transportation.

Business Cooperation Necessary

This paralysis of industry has affected not merely Germany, Austria, and Hungary, but the people of the Allied countries themselves have been great sufferers. Hundreds of thousands of people have been drawing unemployment money from the British treasury. Belgium has been in needless distress through lack of machinery and raw materials, with idleness becoming chronic and a

menace. Nowhere in Europe is the food situation approaching normal conditions. Americans would be surprised to know to what an extent the rationing of food is still carried on even in Great Britain, and how scarce fuel has been everywhere in Europe during the recent winter and spring. The most powerful and experienced business men of the whole world should have been organized in a separate economic conference at the very moment of the armistice last November, and should have been instructed to save Europe—and, perchance, the other continents—from Bolshevism by endeavoring to give everyone a chance to earn his living and to obtain at least the irreducible minimum of food, clothing, fuel, and shelter by virtue of work in some productive calling.

Servants of Foreign Trade

It is obvious that the conditions of economic life are beyond the control of most individuals. They are also, for Europe, beyond the control even of separate nations. Countries like England, Belgium, France, and Germany are dependent upon international trade. Very large elements of their population have for a generation past been maintained by virtue of imported food and exported manufactures. They are the dependant servants of foreign trade. Steamships, railroads, international markets, banking credits, distribution of such raw materials as cotton, wool, coal, iron, and copper—all these things belong to an indivisible fabric of the world's larger economic life. The very existence of millions of people has been contingent upon the resumption of these larger spheres of industry and trade. A congress of industrial leaders, financiers, practical economists, and labor experts might have been expected to lay aside the politics of prejudice, and to set the wheels of industry in motion. The subordinate economic committees of the main Peace Conference

have doubtless included many able men, but they have had no real authority and have merely given advice to the great figures like Clemenceau, Wilson, and Lloyd George, who have been intent upon other things and who in any case are not competent to reestablish the world in a practical business sense.

*America
in Sharp
Contrast*

Here in the United States we are relatively independent of other countries in our ability to maintain a comfortable economic existence. There has been shown of late an irrepressible impulse to buy and sell and speculate, on the higher price levels. Optimism has been prevalent, the soldiers have been coming back in swelling numbers, farmers have been encouraged by high prices and good weather, and all the well-known symptoms of feverish prosperity, under conditions of currency inflation, have been in evidence everywhere. It was in this eager and buoyant atmosphere of America that Mr. Frank Vanderlip found himself immersed—as an amazing contrast—when several weeks ago he returned from a sojourn of several months abroad, during which he had observed business conditions at first hand in a number of European countries. He was asked to speak publicly upon conditions and prospects as he had found them, and his views aroused wide discussion. They were disturbing to many who were booming oil stocks and talking of America's era of unprecedented prosperity.

*Vanderlip's
Striking
Comments*

But Mr. Vanderlip was not merely indulging in moods of gloom induced by Europe's discontent and suffering. He was helping America to see that we could not be permanently prosperous here with Europe starving and idle, and that in these present critical times the business problems are more fundamental than the military or political. We are glad to present Mr. Vanderlip's views to our readers elsewhere in this issue of the REVIEW. For many years he has been one of the leaders of American thought in public affairs as well as one of its guiding minds in finance and business. As a boy in Illinois he had made his own way by hard work; later he became a product of our Western educational system; and in due time he was known as one of the rising young men in Chicago journalism with a special talent for finance and business. He was the right hand man of Secretary Lyman J. Gage in the Treasury Department at Washington, and after four

or five years came to New York as an official in the largest of our American banks, of which he became the President about ten years ago. As a bank officer in Wall Street, he has always recognized the public aspects and functions of our great credit institutions, and has enjoyed the confidence of the country at large as well as the especial respect and esteem of the associated bankers. He has now withdrawn from the more private responsibilities of a bank president, and this will leave him wholly free to continue those public activities as a citizen and leader of opinion which he has never been too busy with his private affairs to disregard. Mr. George E. Roberts, whose own noteworthy career at Washington and in New York has been associated with that of Mr. Vanderlip, contributes for our readers an excellent article upon the work of his friend.

*Our Strong
Financial
Leadership*

The Federal Reserve System has been a tower of strength to American business through the war period. Its creation reflects immense credit upon the opening part of President Wilson's first term. It would be unjust, however, to ascribe a partisan origin to a new system of currency and banking the foundations for which had been so strongly laid by the Republicans under leadership of Senator Aldrich with the help of men in both Houses at Washington, of students of banking and finance, and of young experts like Mr. Henry P. Davison and Mr. Vanderlip. The great part played in the completion and adop-



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WAITING FOR THE WORD!
From the *Evening World* (New York)

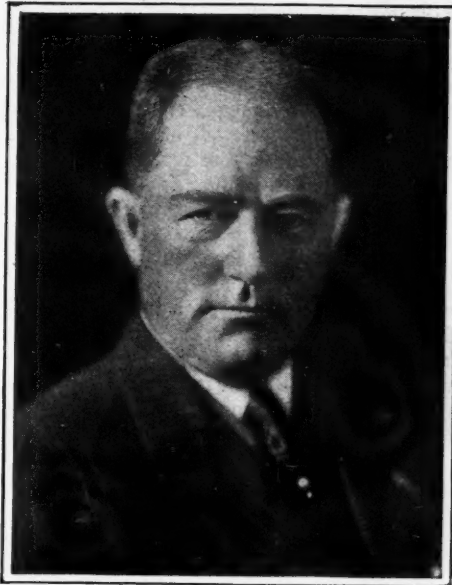
tion of the system by Mr. McAdoo, then Secretary of the Treasury, and by Mr. Glass, then Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and now Mr. McAdoo's successor in the Cabinet, is a matter of current history. In whatever fields of public policy or statesmanship we may be untrained and deficient, it is but just to remark that we are now comparatively strong and well-trained in our financial and business leadership. Fantastic and fallacious views about money, banking and finance, which were once so prevalent in the United States, have no place in the leadership of either great party today.

*Economic
Talent now
Foremost*

Not only is our financial leadership both in Congress and the Government, and in practical business, based more securely upon scientific principles than ever before, but there is a high degree of confidence in the integrity and broad-mindedness of our foremost men in public and private finance. This is fortunate in view of the immensity of our practical problems. Thus Secretary Glass had the strongest kind of loyal cooperation from all the banks and business men of the country in floating the recent Victory Loan, and he was complimented by men of all parties upon the intelligence and wisdom of his methods. Mr. McAdoo had been similarly supported in his long series of brilliant fiscal operations. The war period has brought many men of the American banking fraternity into different forms of public service, and the consequence will be an enhanced ability on the part of the financial structure of this country to help in the solution of national and international problems. The experience of a banker like Henry P. Davison, who began studying currency and finance as a member of Senator Aldrich's Monetary Commission, and who has now won deserved distinction as head of the American Red Cross, is typical of the remarkable training for further usefulness that the war period has given to many of our bankers and business men.

*Our Major
Problems of
Business*

Since our problems of the near future are to pertain so largely to economics and business, it is reassuring that we have so many men of sound knowledge who are also men of broad social sympathies and relatively free from the ambition to pile up immense private fortunes. One of the most noticeable of the changes that the war period has brought about is the modification of the motives of business men



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MR. HENRY POMEROY DAVISON

(Who served through the war as head of the American Red Cross and is now the leading spirit in the projected international organization of Red Cross Societies. Mr. Davison, like Mr. Vanderlip, was a country boy, who has made his way to a foremost place in banking, finance, and public service through effort, ability, and character. His efficient labors have been recognized in all the Allied countries of Europe)

—their deepened sense of social responsibility and their recognition of the fact that "big business" is a public, social, and professional affair, existing only incidentally for the enrichment of business leaders. Thus swiftly, though hardly recognized as yet, there has faded away the tradition that American railroads exist for the sake of creating a few magnates of immense wealth. The railroad situation is perplexing and difficult but at least it is going to be dealt with from the standpoint of the public interest. It ought not to be necessary to remark that the real owners of railroad bonds and stocks are as deserving of protection from having their property confiscated as are the owners of farms or merchandise or of Liberty Bonds. Transportation, like all other commodities, costs a great deal more to produce under present conditions than five or ten years ago.

*Railroads
and Their
Future*

It would seem the simplest solution of the present difficulty of the railroads to fix rates bearing some relation to the cost of the service rendered. There is no reason in the nature of

things why the owner of railroad bonds or stocks should be impoverished for the benefit of cotton growers and wheat growers who are obtaining more than twice the former price for their products. American freight rates have been increased, but they are still by far the lowest in the world. We have reason to believe that there is a growing disposition to deal with the railroad question as intelligently and justly as we have dealt with the problems of currency and banking. Especial attention is invited to the article contributed to this number of the REVIEW by Senator Cummins, on the essential factors in the present railroad problem. The article would be notable upon its merits, but it derives special importance from the fact that Mr. Cummins is chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and will be more influential than any other member of Congress in shaping legislation under which the railroads will be handed back to their owners.

*Senator
Cummins'
Views*

President Wilson has given the country to understand that his intention is that Government control shall cease at the end of the present calendar year. This leaves us six months for the maturing of a sound, intelligent, honest railroad policy. The spirit of fairness and justice that is disclosed in Senator Cummins' article will go far in itself to aid in the shaping and adoption of a plan for the future of the American transportation system. The public aspects now predominate, and the railroads must be considered in the light of their relation to the community as a whole; but the private money directly invested in railroads is just as fairly entitled to protection as is the money that the Government has borrowed for the war-time operation of the railroads and that is represented in the hands of investors by Liberty Bonds. Nor is there any more reason why unduly low rates should be charged by railroads than that unduly low wages should be paid to railroad employees. To put the railroads on a sound basis of finance

for the present, and to provide a method for extending their facilities as the country's needs require, will be a great achievement.

*These
Are Not
Party Issues*

We have learned, in face of war emergencies, to settle large questions without sectionalism or partisanship. Let us hope that there is enough of intelligence and character in the country to maintain this same spirit of national unity in the settlement of these great questions of domestic and foreign business policy. The sentiment of the country does not favor full Government ownership and operation of railroads. It favors private initiative in operation, with broad-minded Government control. The roads ought always to have been allowed to fix the general level of their rates, but they should have been held to strict account for their management, their efficiency, and the use to which every penny of their gross income might be applied.

*Our Flag
on the
Ocean*

Another of the vast business problems that Congress must consider is the American Merchant Marine. We were the greatest of ocean shippers in the Napoleonic period, but our ships and commerce were the victims of French decrees and British orders in council. Again we had risen to be the greatest of shipping nations when, during our Civil War, Confederate cruisers and British policy again drove us off the seas. We have now built a great merchant marine, impelled by the unselfish motive of saving England and France when they were threatened with starvation by the deadly war of the German submarines. Having acquired a large amount of ocean tonnage, it is almost wholly a question of Government policy whether we shall keep the American flag flying, or whether we shall sell our ships to European countries and have them used adversely to American trade and communication. It is not the spirit of America to take advantage of European countries and obtain an undue share of foreign com-



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AN INFORMAL CAMERA
SNAPSHOT OF SENATOR
CUMMINS, WHO SHARES
VICE-PRESIDENT MAR-
SHALL'S HONORS AS PRESI-
DENT OF THE SENATE



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A VIEW OF THE CHAMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AT WASHINGTON, ON OCCASION OF THE CONVENING OF THE NEW SIXTY-SIXTH CONGRESS AT ITS OPENING SESSION ON MAY 19

(Perhaps no previous Congress, except in times of war emergency, has had before it so many problems of profound importance as the new Republican body, now in session and likely to remain at work continuously until the time of the Presidential nominations, a year hence)

merce; but there are many reasons—involving the peace and welfare of the world—why the United States should trade freely and directly under the American flag with South America, and also with Europe and Asia.

Marine Policy Needed

There lie many difficulties in the way of the establishment of our flag on the high seas. Many of the young men who have been trained for sea service in the war period will be available as officers of American merchant ships. If we cannot use Americans as common seamen in competition with the ships of other nations, we might accept the view that the sea has a population of its own, and employ crews of Chinamen, making our own American seamen petty officers. If British and Japanese ships, employing Asiatic crews, are permitted to trade upon our Western coasts, there is no reason why American ship-owners should not be authorized to employ similar crews. The question of immigration is in no manner involved in this problem of employing ocean labor. We need a definite public policy to guide our further building and management of ships. Such a marine policy is now under consideration, after much study, and we may hope for legislation in the near future.

The Shipping Board's Program

In the middle of June the Shipping Board, under Mr. Hurley's chairmanship, presented to Congress its matured plan for the future of what has been known as the "Emergency Fleet" and for the permanent lines of the American merchant marine policy. This report calls for private ownership and operation of ships, contemplates large shipping companies, assumes a good deal of Government supervision as to routes for the benefit of American trade, and contemplates a great ocean career for this country as well as the maintenance of our suddenly developed shipbuilding industry. The expenditure of \$673,000,000 additional will have brought the total cost of our emergency fleet up to \$3,400,000,000. This will have provided about 13,000,000 tons' deadweight of merchant shipping. Generally speaking, the ships yet to be built are to be of the larger and better types, and it will be the policy to allow small vessels under 6000 tons to be sold to foreigners. It is to be believed that upon the basis of this report Congress will be able to provide the country with a permanent peace-time policy that will place the American flag in every important port; will make direct trade with foreign countries possible; and speed travelers under the Stars and Stripes.

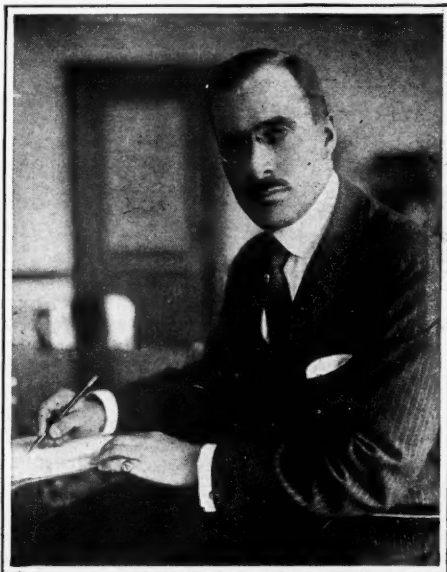
Congress
Reducing
Expenditures

By call of President Wilson, the new Republican Congress met in extra session on May 19. The organization of the Houses had been practically agreed upon in advance and was mentioned in these pages last month. Mr. Gillett makes an acceptable Speaker of the House, and Senator Cummins, who presides over the upper chamber in the absence of Vice-President Marshall, is a similarly appropriate choice. By reason of the importance of revenue and like problems, Mr.

Fordney of Michigan, the new Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, will become a familiar figure to the average newspaper reader. Mr. Good of Iowa, Chairman of the Appropriations Committee, will also stand out as a personage with whom the outside public is concerned. An immediate task was the reshaping of the appropriation bills which had come over from the last Congress. These were to provide for carrying on the Government during the fiscal year beginning July 1. The outlook in several directions has changed materially since the last Congress expired on the fourth of March. Secretary Daniels went frankly before the Naval Committees and withdrew his

large building program. As revised, the naval appropriations for this coming year will save about \$200,000,000 as compared with the bill that failed in the Senate three months ago. The Army bill will save more than \$300,000,000, and there will be retrenchment in other directions. The sum estimated by Mr. Hines, the Government's Director-General of railroads, as necessary to finance and maintain the lines is cut by several hundred millions. It is obvious that we must support naval and military aviation and must also maintain all parts of the naval pro-

gram generously. But we could afford to reduce the Army even a little more than Secretary Baker and Chairman Kahn have proposed. The habit of lavish public expenditure goes with the emergencies of war. Strict economy and severe retrenchment are hard to enforce in a period following the unavoidable extravagance of war methods. The new Congress must, however, cut down our expenditure in wasteful directions in order to have money for wise and productive uses.



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COLONEL RICHARD G. CHOLMELEY-JONES, DIRECTOR OF THE WAR RISK INSURANCE BUREAU

(The new Director, who for many years has been a valued member of the staff of the Review of Reviews Company, had always been especially interested in insurance for young men and wage-earners. During the war he served in Europe as one of the army officers in charge of soldiers' insurance under the new system, winning a citation for "exceptionally meritorious and conspicuous services." He is now at the head of the Government's largest bureau)

reorganization of this vast new public service has been brought about, under the Secretary's direction, with Col. Richard G. Cholmeley-Jones as the new Bureau Chief. Col. Cholmeley-Jones had been for many years a valued member of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS business staff, when he was commissioned as a captain in the Army and sent to France with the late Major Willard Straight to carry on the soldier's insurance and war risk work for the Army abroad. His service in Europe was as enthusiastic and wholehearted as it was efficient and unselfish. His

The Immense
Bureau of
"War Risk"

One of the immediate steps

taken by the new Congress to support necessary obligations had to do with the War Risk Bureau. This great creation of the war had quickly grown to be the Government's largest bureau, and the world's incomparably greatest insurance agency. For the benefit of several million soldiers and sailors and their dependents there are outstanding policies of almost \$40,000,000,000. Embarrassment was caused when Congress adjourned on March 4 by failure to provide the funds for a great number of allotments that were falling due. Secretary Glass found a way to advance the money and the new Congress acted promptly. A

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recent appointment as head of the Bureau was in the fullest sense a case of the office seeking the man.

*This Agency
Must Be
Sustained*

The work of the Bureau is of appalling magnitude, yet the project is intrinsically sound and its many problems of policy and administration can be worked out. Secretary Glass and Assistant Secretary Shouse, with the new Director of the Bureau, are wholly free from political bias in the carrying on of this service for the benefit of soldiers and their dependents, and we may well believe that the Committees of Congress will coöperate in the same spirit. That the Bureau is to be investigated by Congress has been well understood, and such an investigation should be both broad and thorough. But it should also be helpful and sympathetic, and friends of returned and discharged soldiers and sailors everywhere should encourage the men to keep up their insurance and consider carefully the desirable options and proposals that will be offered to them by the War Risk Bureau. This business should be well advertised in some fashion, to gain public confidence.

*Heavy Taxes
to Be
Retained*

It was confidently asserted that Congress would immediately repeal some of the so-called luxury taxes which are collected through dealers and merchants, but the more seriously the revenue problem was considered last month by the Committees, the less inclined were they to recommend the cutting off of any sources of income. Senator Penrose, the new Chairman of the Finance Committee, made what seemed to be a sound and statesmanlike observation when he expressed the view that before taxes were repealed or altered a scientific budget system ought to be adopted. Bills are now pending in both Houses for reforming the whole system of presenting estimates and making appropriations. The advocates of a consolidated executive budget are no longer regarded as faddists, and they are supported by bankers and business men of as much ability as those who helped to create the Federal Reserve System. The new plan has obtained prestige and standing in both Houses and its adoption is fairly probable. Now is the time to urge it.

*A Budget
System
in Sight*

Severe pruning should bring the total expenditure of the Federal Government in the early future down to a total sum perhaps between three and four billions of dollars, including interest

on the public debt. A scheme of taxation should then be arranged and adopted to provide the money for such total of outlay. Taxes on business profits and personal incomes will continue to be heavy for years to come, but the prosperity of the country will suffer if too much is taken from sources which would otherwise supply the need for fresh capital in business. With the coming of prohibition, the large revenue from whiskey and beer will disappear. Tobacco can perhaps bear even heavier taxes than it now pays. There are other consumption taxes that may be available, while a very small tax upon purchases of all sorts would not be improper. Tea and coffee are among the articles that ought to yield large revenues. No hardship whatever would be involved.

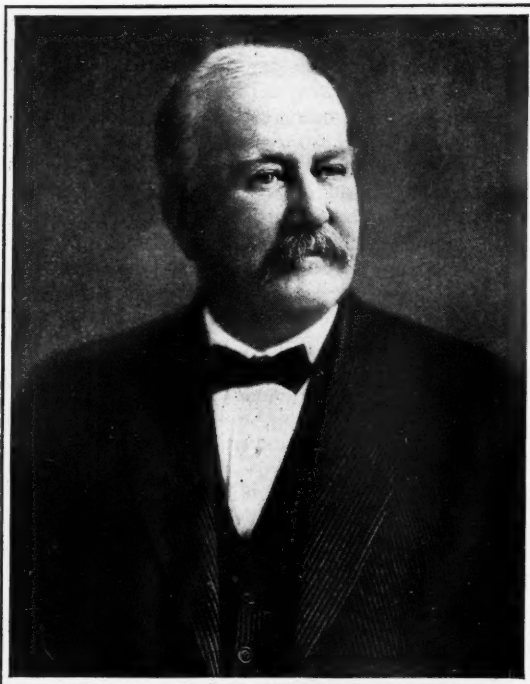
*The President
on Business
Problems*

The President's message, as read to Congress on May 20, had been cabled from Paris. His previous messages had been presented by him in person to the two houses sitting together. The address was not as favorably received at



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HON. BOIES PENROSE, SENIOR SENATOR FROM PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE'S FINANCE COMMITTEE



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HON. JOSEPH W. FORDNEY, OF MICHIGAN

(Mr. Fordney, whose home is at Saginaw, has been a Republican Congressman from that district for the past twenty years, and is now Chairman of the great Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives. In this capacity he takes the lead in dealing with tariff and revenue questions and becomes a prominent national figure. Mr. Fordney is not a lawyer, but a business man who began to work in the lumber forests fifty years ago, as a boy, and became one of the leaders in the great lumber industry of his region.)

the moment as some of Mr. Wilson's previous deliverances; but if now re-read, after the lapse of a month or more, it will be found in many respects a most timely and pertinent paper. It is not very specific, but it is suggestive and helpful in practical directions. Thus, the allusions to the merchant marine as serviceable to the whole world are directly to the point. "I believe," says the President, "that our business men, our merchants, our manufacturers, and our capitalists, will have the vision to see that prosperity in one part of the world ministers to prosperity everywhere." He suggests, "that there are many points at which we can facilitate American enterprise in foreign trade by opportune legislation, and make it easy for American merchants to go where they will be welcomed as friends, rather than as dreaded antagonists." The largest single part of the President's message was devoted to the problems of taxation, and its observations are, in the main, well in accord with the

best prevailing views. It is evident that Mr. Wilson is prepared to meet a Republican Congress fully half way in revising and changing the tax laws.

*Tariff
Changes
Urgent*

As to the tariff, Mr. Wilson declares that "there is, fortunately, no

occasion for undertaking in the immediate future any general revision of our system of import duties." He holds that foreign countries are in such a condition that our domestic manufactures have no reason to fear competition of foreign goods. He advises the retention of the policy adopted in the Tariff Act of 1913 "of permitting the free entry into the United States of the raw materials needed to supplement and enrich our own abundant supplies." He does not stop here, however, but hastens to say that "nevertheless, there are parts of our tariff system which need prompt attention." He then makes a sweeping appeal for a new tariff schedule to protect our dye and chemical industries. This subject was admirably presented in the June number of *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* by Doctor Charles Baskerville. Furthermore, Mr. Wilson calls for tariff legislation to protect us against adverse treatment under the trade policies of other countries. His remarks on this subject

may well be quoted as follows:

The United States should, moreover, have the means of properly protecting itself whenever our trade is discriminated against by foreign nations, in order that we may be assured of that equality of treatment which we hope to accord and to promote the world over. Our tariff laws, as they now stand, provide no weapon of retaliation in case other governments should enact legislation unequal in its bearing on our products as compared with the products of other countries. Though we are as far as possible from desiring to enter upon any course of retaliation, we must frankly face the fact that hostile legislation by other nations is not beyond the range of possibility and that it may have to be met by counter legislation.

This is a question, as the President shows, upon which the existing United States Tariff Commission has made a satisfactory report. Mr. Wilson also says that the views he favors are those that have been suggested by previous administrations. Thus he attempts to lift the tariff question out of the field of party controversy. Undoubtedly the

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Republican Congress will accept his views as to the chemical schedule and as regards tariff legislation intended to protect us against foreign discrimination. That the Republican Ways and Means Committee will be disposed in the near future to take up various schedules, with a view to changes here and there, is already quite evident, inasmuch as tariff hearings had already begun at Washington last month. There seems little call for radical tariff revision of a general kind.

Trade Rivalries, and Tariffs We shall, of course, encounter the spirit of trade rivalry in the future, and must endeavor to keep that spirit within bounds in order that good relationships may be maintained with our friends abroad. Germany has been England's largest customer in the past, and some of the most recent undercurrents of negotiation at Paris were—perhaps falsely—attributed to the eagerness of certain interests to resume profitable trade relations with the Germans. Canada, on the other hand, is America's best and most natural commercial associate, and it is proper that this country should look toward an ever-increasing volume of business both ways across the Northern

line. It is not a normal or sound policy which would set up sharp discriminations in Canada against the United States in favor of Great Britain in consequence of the political relationship between the great Canadian self-governing Democracy and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. In all its financial and trade policies, Canada is as free and independent as Brazil or Argentina. It is obvious that if the intimate and desirable relationship of the English-speaking commonwealths is to be developed into a mere commercial combination, with predominance in naval and marine affairs, there will tend to grow up other less natural combinations in rivalry.

Freedom versus "Preference"

If the normal and desirable flow of trade throughout North America is prevented by arbitrary political policies, there will follow a development of competing policies through the sheer necessities of the case. "Preference" tariffs are a game that cannot be played by one group of countries without resulting in attempts, at least, in the nature of imitation. The English-speaking world should, as a whole, move in the direction of trade coöperation rather than of extreme rivalry. People of large brains, wide information and sound sympathy are now believing in the policy of trying to help everybody in the world to have sufficient food, suitable work, and hopeful opportunity. It was reported last month that as respects certain schedules, the new Canadian budget proposals at Ottawa give the same tariff rates to the United States as to Great Britain. These include such commodities as foodstuffs, clothing and farm machinery. Under existing conditions Great Britain could not in any case supply Canada with many of the articles necessary to import; and discriminating tariffs would merely increase prices for the Canadian consumers. The real problems will have to be faced a little later, and it is to be hoped that the United States may set the pace by opening our markets on the most liberal terms to Canadian producers.



"SAM BULL"—THE HOPE OF THE WORLD
From *Opinion* (London)

[This typical English cartoon is very timely, as we are about to celebrate the Fourth of July with the assistance and good will of our British friends. It represents the combined strength and influence of Britain and America as the best guarantee of the world's peace and the world's prosperity. It is in the spirit of Mr. Frank Dillnot's article, contributed to this number of the REVIEW]

Returning the "Wires"

"The railroads," declared the President in his message, "will be handed over to their owners at the end of the calendar year. Regarding the wire services," he went on to say, "I could name the exact date for their return also, if I were in immediate contact with the

administrative questions which must govern the re-transferring of the telegraph and the telephone lines." He had stated that these lines would be returned as soon as it could be properly done. He pointed out the need of legislation which would "tend to make of these indispensable instrumentalities of our modern life a uniform and coördinated system, which will afford those who use them as complete and certain means of communication with all parts of the country as has so long been afforded by the postal system of the Government, and at rates as uniform and intelligible. Expert advice is, of course, available in this very practical matter, and the public interest is manifest."

**"Operation"
Resumed
President**

went on to say that neither the telegraph nor the telephone service of the country could be said in any sense to be a national system. He suggested to Congress that it should study the whole question of electrical communication and unify and improve it under the central authority of the nation. Postmaster-General Burleson had, on the President's order, returned the ocean cables early in May. The return of the land wires was merely awaiting the desired legislation by Congress. Early in June there were serious local telephone strikes. On June 5 Mr. Burleson announced that, for purposes of operation, the wire lines were returned to the owning companies. The control of policy and of rates, and the general administration of the wire services remained with the Government. This left the companies to deal, in the immediate sense, with labor problems. The Western Union Telegraph Company has always held that its services were so necessary to the public that they ought never to be interrupted by a strike or a lockout, and that its employees were engaged in a business

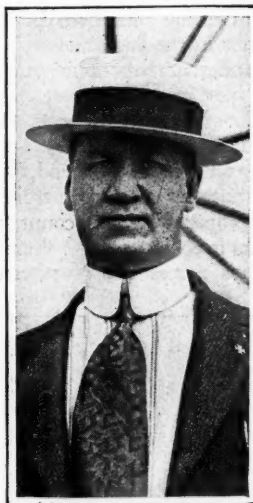


MR. NEWCOMB CARLTON,
PRESIDENT OF THE WEST-
ERN UNION TELEGRAPH
COMPANY

involving personal discretion of so high and delicate a nature that they ought never to be subject, in mass, to outside strike orders.

**The
Issues of
the Strike**

President Newcomb Carlton, of the Western Union, stated his position with much weight, and the country was watching very anxiously last month to see whether Mr. Carlton was right in saying that Western Union men would not go out on strike, or whether Mr. Konenkamp was justified in his absolute statement to the public that the Western Union men were going to obey his clarion call to tie up the lines and deprive the public of this necessary means of communication. Very few



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S. J. KONEKAMP, PRESIDENT
OF THE TELEGRAPHERS'
UNION

Western Union men went out at first. A somewhat larger number of employees of the Postal Telegraph System responded to the strike order. As we went to press the strike seemed to be unsuccessful, but it had not been called off. It is to be hoped that Congress will very promptly provide for the full resumption of wire control by the owning companies as recommended by President Wil-

son. The principal point at stake with Mr. Konenkamp seemed to be the extending of union organization into a field where heretofore it has had very slight hold.

**Suffrage
Triumphant**

The workers for woman suffrage achieved a great triumph in finally securing the adoption of their amendment to the Federal Constitution by the United States Senate on June 4th, the vote being 56 in favor and 25 against. The amendment as adopted is the famous text phrased and advocated in 1875 by Susan B. Anthony, and it reads as follows:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.

To give this amendment practical effect, it must be ratified by the legislatures of two-thirds of the states, that is to say by thirty-six legislatures. If it is to go into effect in time for the presidential election of next year, many of the legislatures will have to be called into extra session to ratify it. Already woman suffrage had become an established fact in many States through local action. The amendment would make suffrage uniform and universal throughout the United States.

Ratification Assured

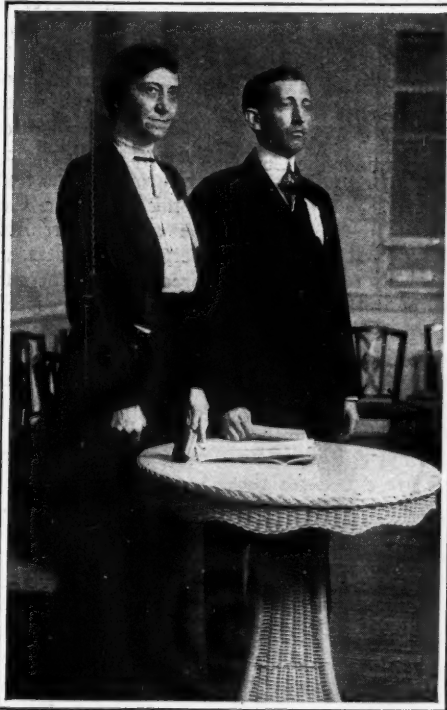
Everyone knew that the time for opposing suffrage in any practical sense had passed and that public opinion was fully committed to the reform. Thus, on June 10th, three legislatures had a chance to act and in Illinois there was a unanimous vote in the Upper House and only three opposing votes in the Lower. In the Wisconsin legislature one Senator and two Assemblymen voted in the negative. In the Michigan legislature favorable action was unanimous in both Houses. Governor Smith of New York, on June 10, summoned the legislature to meet the following Monday night in extra session, with the certainty that there would be no opposition to the amendment worth regarding. The Missouri legislature was to meet in special session to ratify the amendment on July 2. Meanwhile, the Kansas legislators had set a striking example, as suggested by Governor Henry J. Allen, by agreeing to meet for a single day's session, waiving salary and mileage, so that ratification would be without expense to the public treasury. Massachusetts, though not a suffrage State, was expected to ratify promptly, and many governors had agreed

that if a sufficient number of State executives should be willing to call extra sessions, they would take action and thus enable the amendment to take effect almost at once.

Women in Public Affairs

President Wilson had, in his message, strongly advocated the amendment, having abandoned his earlier preference for separate state action. He declared that the whole world was expecting the United States to proceed along this line. It happens however, that the Republican Senators were more responsive to the President's appeal than were those of Mr. Wilson's own party. Thirty-six Republican Senators voted aye and eight no. Twenty Democrats voted for and seventeen against. Meanwhile, the political committees have been fully alive to the significance of the enlarged electorate. Everywhere they have been adding women to county, State and other party boards. Chair-

man Will Hays, of the Republican National Committee, has been especially energetic in welcoming the women voters and seeking the coöperation of women of political influence and capacity. Everywhere there is evidence of an increased interest on the part of women in public affairs and a desire to meet new responsibilities in a way that shall promote the common welfare. Young women in schools, colleges and universities are showing great aptitude for the study of civics and economics, and the activity of women's clubs and societies begins to be shown in many useful measures of progress in the direction of the better care and training of children, public health, housing, labor conditions, and the general tone of social and public life.



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MRS. MEDILL MCCORMICK AND CHAIRMAN WILL HAYS

(Mrs. McCormick is chairman of the executive committee of an organization of Republican women. She is the daughter of a former Senator, the late Mark Hanna, and the wife of the junior Senator from Illinois, Medill McCormick. In the picture Mrs. McCormick is introducing Chairman Hays to an audience in Washington.)

*The New
Liquor
Issue*

One reason why the many excellent suggestions contained in the President's message received scanty attention as Congress opened lay in the fact that public interest was diverted by one major surprise and two or three minor ones. The major surprise was contained in a paragraph on war time prohibition, which it seems worth while to record here in full. It reads as follows:

The demobilization of the military forces of the country has progressed to such a point that it seems to me entirely safe now to remove the ban upon the manufacture and sale of wines and beers, but I am advised that without further legislation I have not the legal authority to remove the present restrictions. I therefore recommend that the act approved November 21, 1918, entitled "An act to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out, during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purpose of the act entitled 'An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products,' and for other purposes" be amended or repealed in so far as it applies to wines and beers.

Congress had conferred upon the President power to establish complete national prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drinks, and the President had ordered that this prohibition go into effect on July 1. Meanwhile, permanent prohibition, under the Constitutional Amendment, is to take effect a little more than six months hence.

*The
Order Will
Stand*

It was supposed that President Wilson had full discretion under the law that permitted him to ordain the "dry" regime, to modify or withdraw the order as he thought best. Congress was not pleased with the President's advice to them that they must take their share of the criticism; and therefore Congress had not taken any action—and did not expect to do so—as these comments are closed for the press in the middle of June. Meanwhile, the brewers and certain other interests supporting their views, were clamoring to have Congress, or the courts, or both, declare that beer containing 2.75 per cent. of alcohol was not beer in the sense of the law, but was skim milk or something else; and a federal judge at New York, after argument by learned counsel, has granted a preliminary injunction restraining Government officials from interfering with its manufacture. Since, however, we have had almost countless court interpretations of "dry" laws in States and under local option, this new contention has seemed fantastic in its novelty.

*When Is
Beer Not
Beer?*

When the prohibition order was issued there was, probably, not a human being among the hundred millions of our people across whose mind there had ever flitted the notion that beer, in the meaning of the order (and in the meaning of the new Constitutional Amendment), was not beer if the amount of alcohol in it was less than 2.75 per cent. Prohibition is a drastic thing, and strong arguments can be made against it; but the 2.75 per cent. quibble is an insult to Congress, courts, presidents, and ordinary intelligence. Prohibition is going to be tried in this country, and the people now clamoring wildly against it have launched their movement much too late. The Prohibitionists, on their side, must abstain from fanatical inquisitions, housebreaking, the insulting search of the baggage of women travelers, and all such half-insane and contemptible violation of human rights. On the other hand, prohibition laws must be honestly enforced and loyally obeyed by everyone.

*Peace
Still in the
Balance*

The status of the foremost current problem, that of international peace, was not easy to discuss at the moment of our going to press. In Paris the controlling group of negotiators were revising the text of the Treaty for final submission to the Germans after having had the extended replies and criticisms of the German delegates. The main lines of the Treaty were not changed, but some modifications were accepted in the hope of securing an earlier acceptance by the Berlin authorities. To find fault with this Treaty requires no great acumen; it requires only a willingness and a disposition to find fault, and the lawyerlike or argumentative habit of dealing with a public issue. There has been from time to time constructive criticism that has been useful. But much of the criticism has seemed to us merely to merit the observation that almost any person might go even farther in finding fault if he thought it the right thing to do. The negotiators at Paris have had to deal with matters of almost infinite complexity. They have not been working in a vacuum, but out-of-doors in a world of terribly stormy weather.

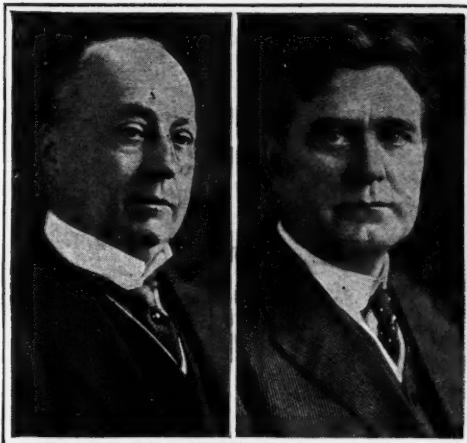
*The
Practical
Solution*

The solutions could not be those of pure logic, nor of mathematical demonstration. We have at least several hundred, and probably some thousands, of men and women quite as ca-

pable from their knowledge of past and present historical conditions to pass judgment upon the work of the Paris Conference as are the very excellent and patriotic men who honorably represent our forty-eight States in the Senate. It is at least a matter to be carefully noted that inside the Senate the opposition to the work at Paris happens to be almost entirely on the Republican side. But when one discusses these questions with intelligent men out of politics, who have been studying the situation upon its merits, the division of sentiment is not upon Republican and Democratic lines any more than it is upon Methodist and Baptist lines. The League of Nations has no possible bearing upon American parties; and a partisan attitude of mind in the face of so great a matter of world importance is not to be commended, though we question no man's sincerity.

*Some Reasons
for Critical
Attitude*

It does not follow that Republican statesmen are not without provocation that tempts them to be critical. The American negotiators ought to have been in the highest sense the trusted representatives of the most intelligent American opinion. It has been asserted that far too much of American officialdom has been over in Paris, neglecting duties here at home; but this is not a wise view to take. It might better be said that not nearly enough of the leaders in American public life have been in Paris helping to shape momentous decisions. In our opinion, Mr. Knox, as a former Secretary of State and a present Senator, ought to have been in Paris for the past six months along with a good many other members of the Senate of both parties. It is true America is permitted to have only five delegates in the full sense—these being, besides President Wilson, Secretary Lansing, Colonel House, General Tasker H. Bliss, and Mr. Henry White. But as a matter of fact, many other Americans have been there working officially and having perhaps more part in shaping the Treaty than several of the formal delegates. These other Americans have been for the most part called "experts." They are such men as Messrs. Vance McCormick, Bernard Baruch, Thomas Lamont, and a group of well-qualified university professors of history and economics, headed by President Mezes, of the College of the City of New York—men of ability and knowledge, all of them—to the number of several hundred.



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PHILANDER C. KNOX

WILLIAM E. BORAH

TWO SENATORIAL CRITICS OF THE TREATY

*Americans
at Paris*

But most of these men, in the political sense, are not representative, and the country unfortunately does not know who they are, and does not indeed know that they are there. At least forty of them have been serving upon international commissions of the highest authority, and it is these commissions which have been working out different parts of the great peace settlement including the details of the League of Nations. In our judgment it has been a profound mistake that Republicans like Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, Mr. Knox, Mr. Borah, and Hiram Johnson, have not been either members of the formal group of five delegates, or else advisory members of the American body, serving upon great commissions, helping to shape the League of Nations, to adjust economic problems, and to determine the proper lines of future action for this country. We have repeatedly declared our opinion that there ought to have been a really powerful conference upon the economic problems, which should have included several of our foremost Congressional authorities at Washington and our most eminent bankers and industrial leaders. It seems to us, therefore, that President Wilson's method of choosing and organizing the American personnel at Paris has been unfortunate from the political standpoint, as well as from that of the world's business reconstruction. It was desirable to have kept the Senate and the country in touch with Paris. It seemed high time to adopt a policy of enlightenment in foreign affairs.

*A Better
Job Than
Appears*

It does not follow however, that the peace Conference as a whole has done fatally bad work, or that its conclusions must be torn to pieces by the United States Senate in order to show Europe and the world that a coördinate branch of our Government does not like Wilson's methods. The censorship that still prevails in Paris has, so to speak, marooned the Peace Conference. Nobody in France could have learned from the Paris press very much about American sentiment; and, on the other hand, although we have had floods of cabled material from intelligent and truthful correspondents, their work has been made very difficult and it follows that the great decisions have been reached at Paris without the safeguard of a constantly instructed public opinion. Individuals like the Hon. Oscar Straus, Mr. Frank Vanderlip, and now our own correspondent Mr. Simonds, come back with deep knowledge, and, in our opinion, safe and sane opinions. But the one group of men that should have been kept in constant relationship with the course of affairs

is the United States Senate, for the simple reason that this group must, by a two-thirds majority, accept and ratify the Peace Treaty before it can take effect. It is not in fact a treaty in the full sense, so far as we are concerned, but only a negotiated draft of a treaty, until the Senate sends it back to the President with the duly certified stamp of its approval.

*It Should Be
Ratified*

It is our belief that if the Germans will sign a Treaty which the Allies and President Wilson have also found it possible to sign, it would be best that the Senate should ratify it promptly in order to bring to an end the evils of a technical continuance of the war status. It would be idle to say that Senator Knox and many of his able colleagues are without strong logical grounds for holding that the League of Nations covenant and the Peace settlement with Germany should come forward as two distinct things. But it is true that many questions have yet to be dealt with that grow inevitably out of the war; and some international body can best handle these postponed problems. As the Treaty stands, the League of Nations is an integral part of it. Logically, Senator Knox holds, the League sections can be detached and the Treaty can be ratified without them. Practically, in view of world conditions, this would seem to make rather for confusion than for clearness.

*The Document
and the
Senate*

It has, in our opinion, been a most unfortunate thing that copies of the complete treaty had not been placed in the hands of every Senator at the time when the summary of the document was given to the newspapers. For the ordinary reader, the summary was sufficient; for the Senators the full document was requisite. Many copies were locked up in the custody of the State Department in Washington, and no Senator was allowed to see them. Yet every Senator is, under our Constitution, a high functionary in the conclusion of treaties; and, apart from mere theories, there is no Senator whose authority at this time, as respects the acceptance or rejection of the Peace Treaty, is not decidedly greater than that of any American connected with the negotiations in Paris except the President alone. That copies of the full Treaty should have been in the hands of hundreds of subordinate Americans at Paris and of some Americans in this country, while no Senator



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LLOYD GEORGE AND THE AMERICAN PEACE DELEGATION
(From left to right, are: President Wilson, Colonel E. M. House, General Tasker H. Bliss, Premier Lloyd George, and Hon. Henry White)

had been officially permitted to see a copy, was not only an exasperating circumstance, but a public misfortune of a dangerous and far-reaching character.

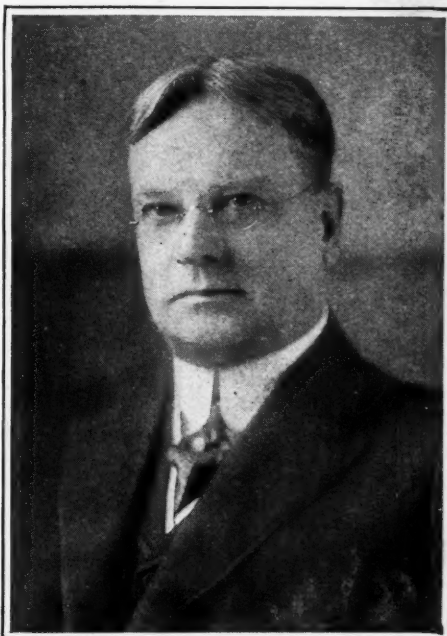
*Peace is
Imperative*

Saying all this with frankness, we are ready, nevertheless, to go on to express the view that the Americans at Paris have rendered able and conscientious service; that President Wilson has done exceedingly well in view of tremendous difficulties; and that the Peace Treaty, if in the near future submitted to the Senate, ought to be ratified—League of Nations and all. While we sympathize with the Senate's feeling that it has not been properly helped to meet its responsibilities to the country, we are of opinion that the critical conditions of the world require the prompt making of peace, and also require such an association as this imperfect League of Nations is meant to initiate. We have no bricks to throw at Senator Knox or at Senator Borah, for whose patriotism and ability we have a high regard. We hope to see the Senate ratify the Treaty, and at the same time go on record with a careful memorandum interpreting various matters that relate to American policy. We are inclined to think that the country would support them in such a course, and would recognize in the early future their effort to sink all party feeling at a moment of world crisis.

*Need for
Sympathy
and Union*

The simple truth is that we are in some danger from a wave of anti-European reaction that was bound to follow the high tide of idealism which swept our vast armies overseas, to the victorious finish of the world's greatest war. Truth remains the same, but the fires of emotion will naturally tend to burn themselves out. Mr. Frank Simonds, who has returned after five months in France,—just in time to write the lucid description which appears in this number of the REVIEW,—makes us feel again how wrong it would be to lose our faith in the French people and our sympathy for them, after all that we and they have suffered in common. It is true to-day, just as it was true a year ago, that we must work for world-harmony, and that we must coöperate as closely as possible with Great Britain and France. If our Senators—all of them—could have been taken to Europe on Government ships, brought into close touch with the Peace Conference, and into informal but frank relations with leaders

July—2



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HON. HIRAM JOHNSON, PROGRESSIVE REPUBLICAN
SENATOR FROM CALIFORNIA

(Mr. Johnson is an opponent of the League of Nations as a part of the peace treaty. He was strongly endorsed last month by Senator Borah and others as a Presidential candidate for 1920)

in England, France and Italy, they would have lost nothing of their Americanism, but would have been better able to help solve the great problems for which they are responsible. They would have continued to uphold American rights and interests; but they would also have returned with a deeper regard for Great Britain and a warmer feeling toward France.

*Ireland
in Our
Senate*

If, indeed, the Senators could all have spent at least three months in Europe since last November (traveling, of course, in small groups), it is not likely that they would, on the sixth day of June have passed a resolution relating to the Government of Ireland, with only one opposing vote. Many of them, doubtless, would have gone to Dublin, and would have talked freely in London on the Irish question. But they would probably have thought it unfitting to pass a resolution bearing upon the relations between the two parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, just as it would seem unfitting that the House of Commons or the



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AMERICANS WHOSE REPORT ON IRISH CONDITIONS HAS OFFENDED THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES

(Several months ago Mr. Michael O'Ryan of Philadelphia, Mr. Frank P. Walsh of Kansas City, and ex-Governor Dunne of Illinois went to Ireland as representing the "Friends of Irish Freedom." Their report last month was criticized and resented in London. They made urgent effort to secure through President Wilson a hearing at Paris for the Sinn Fein leaders)

House of Lords should pass a formal resolution seeming to criticize the attitude of this country in its relation to the proposed independence of the Philippines or to the demand of certain people in Cuba for the abrogation of the Platt Amendment which virtually ties Cuba to the United States.

Home Rule in a Tangle

Senator Lodge intimated that it was as suitable for us to express views on the Irish question as for the British to have opinions on the Monroe Doctrine. But we are not aware that the British Parliament has passed a resolution implying hostility to American views about the political freedom of the Western Hemisphere. The Irish question is not understood in the United States Senate, but no American politician wants to offend our great body of active-minded citizens of Irish descent. In fact, nobody understands the Irish question, unless it be Sir Horace Plunkett. The Sinn Fein revolution was an outrage, but, from the American standpoint, the revolution that Carson was leading in the North of Ireland against the Home Rule Act of Parliament in 1914 was

something not less unpraiseworthy. If Ulster were only a separate island like the Isle of Man, the so-called Irish question could be settled within twenty-four hours. All Americans believe in Home Rule for Ireland, and few Americans know that what they think they understand by "home rule for Ireland" is not even one phase of the present issue.

Anarchists at Work

On the night of the third of June, a bomb was exploded at the home of the new Attorney-General, Hon. A. Mitchell Palmer, in Washington; and like attempts were made to destroy the homes and families of a number of prominent men elsewhere in the country. This had followed about a month after the sending of numerous bombs through the mails to men who were regarded with enmity by anarchists. A thorough effort under the direction of Mr. William J. Flynn has been organized to "round up" criminal anarchists and protect American society. The miscreants are chiefly foreigners who have been admitted to this country under our lax immigration laws. Our country has no sympathy with anarchists; few Americans are lenient towards doctrines like those of the Bolsheviks. There is no shadow of excuse for terrorist crimes in America. Fortunately the plots have thus far failed.



THE RESIDENCE OF ATTORNEY-GENERAL A. MITCHELL PALMER IN WASHINGTON, D. C., AFTER THE EXPLOSION OF AN ANARCHIST BOMB



AUSTRIA UNDER THE PEACE TREATY

(The treaty limits the new Austrian republic to the solid black area. The diagonal shading represents territory formerly belonging to Austria, which now becomes parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland in the north and Italy and Yugoslavia in the southwest. The perpendicular lines indicate Hungarian territory, whose boundaries are yet to be fixed. The horizontal lines indicate territory formerly belonging to Austria and Hungary jointly, now part of Yugoslavia.)

Russia's Civil War

A great discussion was going on everywhere last month about affairs in Russia, with wildly conflicting news statements. Some reports made it appear that Lenine and Trotzky were gaining constantly with irresistible armies; other reports declared it likely that Admiral Kolchak would enter the city of Moscow by the first of August, and overthrow the Bolshevist régime in the near future. The Allies last month decided definitely to recognize Kolchak's so-called "Omsk Government," and to give it support. The statement made by the Admiral could hardly have been improved in its clear recital of aims and methods. He promises a freely elected Constituent Assembly, and a reasonable treatment—in conjunction with the League of Nations—of the new countries which have been created out of parts of the former Russian Empire. He does not clearly state that he is prepared to recognize the full independence of Finland, but undoubtedly this can be arranged through the Allies or the League. Admiral Kolchak declares

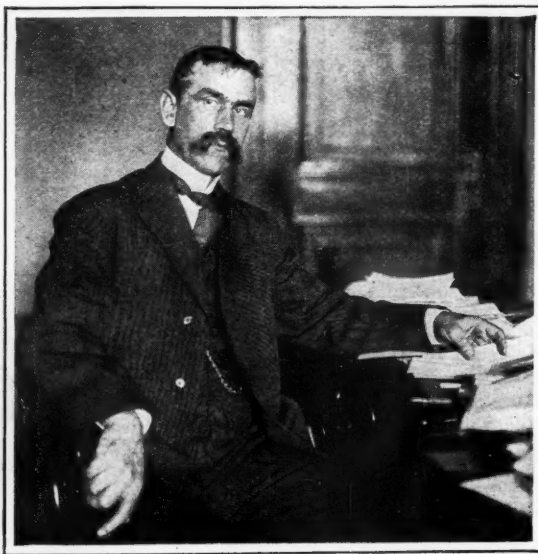
that the Lenine-Trotzky Government has been munitioned and financed by Germany.

Eastern Europe

The peace terms of the Allies had been presented to the Austrian delegation, but negotiations were likely to continue for some time. It was reported that Bela Kun, the Communist chief of the existing Hungarian Government, would send a group of delegates to enter upon the discussion of peace terms on behalf of the greatly shrunken Hungarian realms. Turkish questions of puzzling intricacy remained to be settled, with wide divergence of views as to the proper solution. Bulgaria, and the Balkan problems, have also yet to be straightened out. The League of Nations or some other body will have continuous work to do for a long time to come.

To Pay Off Our War Debt

Senator Smoot, who is looked on as our Congressional expert in matters of Government finance, has given for publication some of his views of the problem before us of paying off the



SENATOR REED SMOOT OF UTAH

(Though a strong Republican partisan, Senator Smoot has earned a high place in the Upper House by reason of his great ability and unflinching industry. He has held his seat for the past sixteen years. He has been one of the most valuable members of several of the Senate's leading committees, and is the new Chairman of the Committee on Public Lands.)

war debt. Assuming that the final aggregate debt of the United States is \$30,000,000,000, the Senator feels that our choice must lie somewhere between a sinking fund of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., producing \$750,000,000 annually, and retiring the debt in a little less than twenty-four years—and a sinking fund of 1 per cent., raising \$300,000,000 a year, which would extinguish the debt in forty-four years. He has found opinions that the higher sinking fund rate is too high to be borne without serious interference with business, and other opinions that the 1 per cent. rate is too low. He seems himself inclined toward a sinking fund of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., raising \$450,000,000 annually and retiring the debt in thirty-two years.

*The Allies'
Debt
To Us*

Senator Smoot's calculations apparently assume that we shall not collect from our Allies in the great war the sums they borrowed from us. These sums now aggregate no less than \$9,500,000,000, and form, therefore, nearly a third part of our total war debt. If we are to be paid for these advances to our Allies, most of which went to England and France, our present national debt could be extinguished within a reasonable time by a very much smaller annual sinking fund charge than any of those suggested by Sena-

tor Smoot. Public opinion in the United States has seemed to assume that these billions borrowed from us by Great Britain, France, and Italy would be returned, though suggestions have now and then been made that we cancel the debt. This, of course, reflects generous impulses; but it shows no mature study of the problem. In due time, doubtless, these obligations will be lifted; so far as the United States Treasury is concerned, by sale to private investors, whether here or abroad. Existing domestic government debts in England and France, as in the United States, are easy to deal with, because they merely require equalization among citizens, through processes of taxation. These foreign governments can then float new loans, with the proceeds of which they can cancel their indebtedness in other countries. All generous Americans who believe that the French and British peoples should not have to pay for their war supplies purchased in the United States, will have the privilege of subscribing to these bonds and presenting them as free gifts to the European governments. Doubtless many Americans will be glad to pursue this course. It would not seem possible for members of Congress to give away what is not their own property. But it is wholly permissible for citizens, as individuals, at all times to show the reality of their sympathies by giving of their substance. On the question of these obligations, President Wilson, in his recent message to Congress, said that our public indebtedness is not as great as it seems, because "a very large proportion of those sums were raised in order that they might be loaned to the governments with which we were associated in the war, and those loans will, of course, constitute assets, not liabilities, and will not have to be taken care of by our tax-payers."

*The
World's War
Inflation*

In the course of his interview, Senator Smoot gave some interesting figures, the result of his investigations of the general world inflation resulting from the war upheaval. These figures are, of course, exceedingly "round." He places the money worth of the world's possessions just before the war at \$780,000,000,000. As compared with this, Senator

Smoot figures out present inflation to the amount of \$240,000,000,000. Not only is the world immersed in great debts; but public debts promise to increase, rather than decrease, in the coming years. He believes that the European nations must look the facts squarely in the face, recognize that they cannot carry so great a burden, and repudiate their domestic debts, or else that they must impose such heavy taxes on wealth as nearly to reach the point of confiscation. The levy on wealth is already under discussion in several countries.

*The Record
Wheat Crop
Assured*

A great event of this troubled period in which we are living is the unprecedentedly magnificent crop of wheat in the United States, now practically assured. The Government's June estimates pointed to a total wheat harvest in the United States for 1919 of 1,236,000,000 bushels. It is true that calamities may yet come to the Spring wheat crop, but the large factor in the total is the Winter wheat, furnishing 900,000,000 bushels of the estimated total, and this being within a very few weeks of the harvest, can be counted as an accomplished fact. This achievement of our wheat farmers can be better appreciated when one looks back and finds that the largest wheat crop grown in any year before the war was 737,000,000 bushels; and that the present year's yield will exceed by no less than 210,000,000 bushels even the record-breaking crop of 1915. Our total for the year amounts to about one-third of all the wheat grown in the world. The acreage this year exceeds by 43% the largest ever planted in the pre-war period, showing the tremendous effort toward increasing the size of the crop exerted by the Government's guaranteed price. Then the larger acreage was aided by very unusually favorable conditions of moisture to produce the splendid final result.

*What
This Means
to Europe*

It is obvious that a single crop worth nearly \$2,800,000,000 must mean a great deal to American farmers and through their prosperity and increased buying power, to trade in general in this country, and there is no doubt that this consideration has been one of those that accounted for the great upward swing in security prices in the United States, which extended for nearly a month without the slightest interruption up to June 10. But while this extraordinary piece of good

fortune means that the United States will be richer, it means also that tens of thousands of Europeans will be saved from starvation. Europe has habitually counted on exportations from Russia and the Balkans of nearly 240,000,000 bushels of wheat each year. This surplus is, of course, wiped out. Also, other European countries have so suffered in man-power and from war devastation that their production of wheat will be this year shortened by an amount perhaps as large as the former surplus from Russia and the Balkans. Just in this desperate situation, kindly Nature steps in to give the United States such a wheat crop as will enable it to export more than 600,000,000 bushels to Europe, instead of the 200,000,000 bushels which was considered a handsome export surplus before the war. In other words, the new export capacity of the United States may just balance Europe's new shortage.

*Mr.
Hoover
Optimistic*

The Governments of all the important wheat-raising countries, with the exception of the Argentine, have guaranteed the price of wheat to farmers, and all the European countries have subsidized the bread supply. The American members of the Supreme Economic Council oppose continuing, after this year, the centralized control of food distribution in Europe, on the ground that prices for other commodities having no guar-



ISN'T HE A BOUNCING BOY?
From the *Republic* (St. Louis)

antee, there should be, as soon as possible, an abatement of the artificial food prices. Our own guaranteed price of \$2.26 per bushel for wheat applies only to the harvests of 1919. The last ship cargo of food leaving America under the American Food Control organization sailed towards the end of June, and the opinion is general that trading in food products should from now on be handled through the regular channels. Mr. Hoover believes there is a sufficient surplus from the coming harvests to supply Europe. The Economic Council's survey of the situation abroad shows a great shortage in food animals, but it believes that if the supply of feeding-stuffs during the next year permits normal rations for even the reduced herds, the human needs for meat and fats will be satisfied. Allied Europe lost more than 18,000,000 cattle out of the 98,000,000 she possessed before the war; she had 69,000,000 swine before the war, and now only 39,000,000, while the flocks of sheep decreased about 8 per cent.

The "Spruce-Up" Campaign

To make work for our returning soldiers and sailors, a "spruce-up" campaign is being conducted under the auspices of the War Department; and Major E. C. Church, of the General Staff, is in charge of the movement in the eastern States. The idea is, after everything possible has been done to bring the soldier and the job together, to create additional jobs by putting our houses in order after the confusion and deterioration of the war period. Thus, in the strain of war years, millions of people did not make repairs and keep their property up as they would have done in normal times, when material, labor and money were not needed by the nation for war purposes. Now what the nation needs is to get its returning young men into useful employment as quickly as possible, and if all those of our 20,000,000 householders who need repairs or renovation of their property start right in to "spruce-up," it is obvious that the un-employment evil will receive a great jolt. Property owners are urged, therefore, to take up with alacrity the new building, or painting or tin-work or cement or shingling, the new awnings or screens or interior betterments that they have been putting off on account of war times. It always means money and comfort saved to be forehanded in such matters, and now there is the fine additional incentive of helping our soldiers to get back to useful

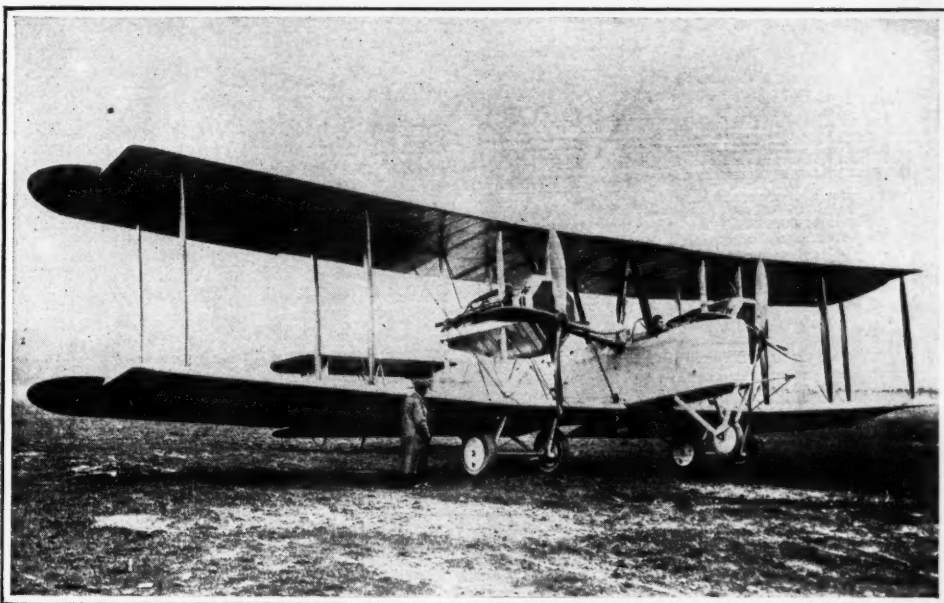
self-support. As the public comes to understand better that there is no practical use or gain in waiting for lower prices that probably are years distant, this movement should grow rapidly.

Newfoundland to Ireland by Air

Americans share with Englishmen the honor of making the pioneer air voyages over the Atlantic from Newfoundland to European soil. The successful flight of Lieutenant-Commander Read and his crew of five in our naval seaplane NC-4 to the Azores and thence to Portugal and Plymouth, England, was followed within a month by the non-stop, record-breaking trip of Captain John Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown in the British Vickers-Vimy land plane from St. John's, N. F., to Clifden, sixty miles from Galway, on the Irish coast. The wing spread of the Vickers-Vimy machine is only half that of the NC-4 and its two Rolls-Royce motors together have 700 horsepower as against the 1600 combined horsepower of the four motors in each of the NC planes. The British machine is light in proportion and it carried only its pilot and its navigator. It made the entire distance of 1900 miles in sixteen hours and twelve minutes—an average speed of 119 miles an hour. There was no previous record for either land or sea flight approaching this. Most of the flying was done in dense fog, which made sun, moon, and stars invisible. All the more wonderful, then, was the achievement of the navigator, Lieutenant Brown (an American, by the way), who guided the airplane to a point on Galway Bay, where he had said, on leaving Newfoundland, that he intended to land. The wireless transmitter had been blown off the machine shortly after the departure from St. John's.

Daring British Fliers

Hawker and Grieve, in a Sopwith plane, had attempted the same thing on May 18, had covered about half the journey, and then had been forced to come down in mid-ocean, where most fortunately they were rescued by the crew of a Danish freighter. For sheer daring and scorn of personal safety, their venture, though unsuccessful, was quite as noteworthy as that of Alcock and Brown, but neither feat has fully solved the problem of the transatlantic air passage. Will the dirigible be preferred to the heavier-than-air machine for this hazardous game with the elements? There are those who believe that



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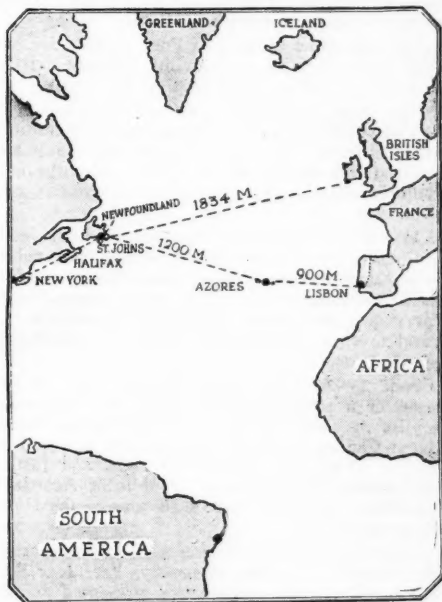
THE VICKERS VIMY AIRPLANE WITH WHICH CAPTAIN ALCOCK AND LIEUTENANT BROWN CROSSED THE ATLANTIC ON JUNE 14-15, FROM NEWFOUNDLAND TO IRELAND

a demonstration of the dirigible's qualities for transoceanic flight will soon be made.

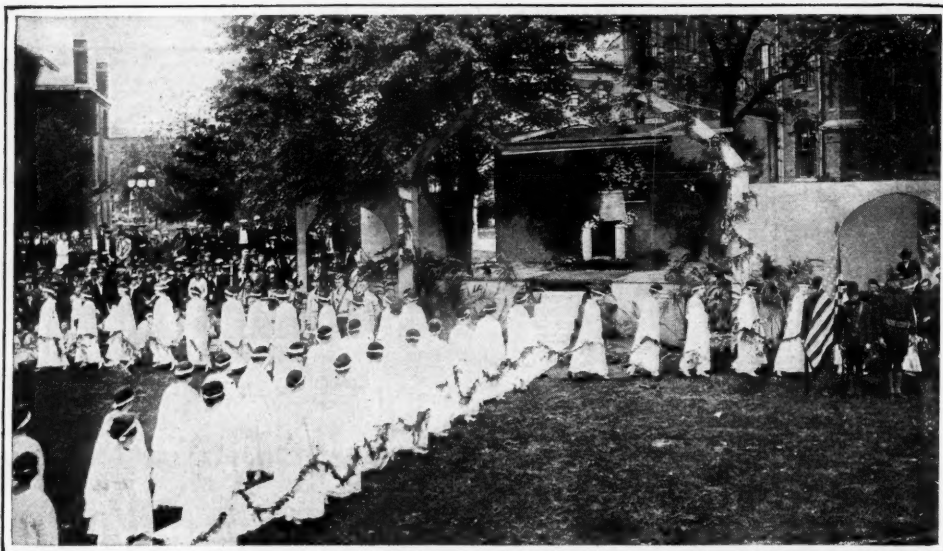
The Azores Flight

It has been shown that a land machine can cross the ocean, but in history the achievement of our Navy in sending the NC-4 from New York to Plymouth, England, by way of Newfoundland and the Azores will have its due place as a chapter in long-distance aircraft pioneering. The plans were laid during the war and for military objects. The possibility of sending planes to Europe under their own power in great numbers had been fully discussed (see the article by Ernest P. Goodrich in this REVIEW for April, 1918) and the Navy Department set about a test of the scheme. The flight in May was the outcome of many months of planning. It was never intended as a feat of daring and was never to be regarded as in competition with other attempts at transatlantic flight. Although the men engaged in it were acting under orders, they showed the same degree of courage and personal initiative that we have come to associate with our naval officers in whatever service they may be employed. The seaplane itself is wholly an American product and it was fitting that Americans should be the first to cross the Atlantic with it, just as a century ago Amer-

icans guided the first ocean steamship, the *Savannah*, also an American invention, eastward to the coast of Europe.



ROUTES FOLLOWED RESPECTIVELY BY THE AMERICAN NAVAL SEAPLANES AND BY CAPTAIN ALCOCK AND LIEUTENANT BROWN



IVY DAY EXERCISES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

(The State University celebrated its fiftieth anniversary at the commencement season last month. In the higher educational institutions of the West, there are often as many women students as men—a convincing argument against withholding the suffrage. The influence of women in local politics has long been a factor for good)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From May 16 to June 15, 1919)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

May 19.—The Austrian peace delegation presents its credentials to the Allied representatives, at St. Germain, a suburb of Paris.

May 21.—The Council of Four extends for one week the time within which the German delegation may submit observations on the treaty.

May 22.—The Allied Governments reply to a German communication on economic conditions of the treaty; the reply argues that Germany suffered less during the war, and under the new conditions can build up a position of stability and prosperity.

May 29.—The German delegation submits written observations on the peace treaty presented to it on May 7; the reply characterizes the treaty as "victorious violence," a thing impossible to carry out; it contains neither agreement nor refusal to sign, but offers a series of counter-proposals.

June 2.—Austria's peace delegates are handed parts of a treaty of peace, with the request for replies or observations in writing within fifteen days; Chancellor Karl Renner, head of the delegation, pleads for a peace of right and justice, and declares that the new republic of Austria is free from the unfortunate traditions of the Hapsburg monarchy.

June 7.—Opening an extraordinary session of the Austrian National Assembly, President Seitz characterizes the peace terms presented by the Allies as a peace of hate which if carried out would mean starvation.

June 12.—The Council of Four, having communicated conditions to Admiral Kolchak (head

of the All-Russian government at Omsk) and received a favorable reply, announces its willingness to assist with munitions, supplies, and food.

June 14.—The Council of Five finishes a revision of the peace treaty, the new terms being more lenient with Germany.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

May 19.—The Sixty-sixth Congress meets in special session, with the Republicans in control in both branches. . . . In the Senate, Mr. Cummins (Rep., Iowa) is chosen president pro tem.; in the House, Mr. Gillett (Rep., Mass.) is chosen Speaker.

May 20.—In both branches, a message is read from the President, received by cable from Paris; he recommends reconsideration of taxes, tariff protection for chemical and dye industries, passage of the woman-suffrage proposal, repeal of wartime prohibition against manufacture of wine and beers, and passage of labor legislation.

May 21.—The House passes the woman-suffrage amendment to the Constitution, by vote of 304 to 89; in January, 1918, the vote had been 274 to 136.

May 21.—The House passes a deficiency appropriation bill carrying \$45,000,000 to pay overdue obligations to dependents of soldiers and sailors.

May 23.—The Senate debates the President's right to withhold the text of the treaty of peace; the appropriation bill for the War Risk Insurance Bureau is passed without debate.

May 24.—In the House, Mr. Fordney announces the decision of the Ways and Means Committee to hold hearings on tariff revision.

May 26.—In the Senate, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) declares that in the League of Nations as proposed, with equal votes for member nations, the white race will have only 15 votes out of 32.

May 28.—In the Senate, the Republican committee assignments agreed upon in caucus, including all the chairmanships, are ratified by a party vote, 49 to 42, rumored opposition by Progressives failing to materialize.

June 2.—In the Senate, Mr. Johnson (Rep., Cal.) condemns the covenant of the League of Nations as involving the United States in sordid quarrels and diplomatic disputes of Europe and Asia.

June 3.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) and Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) charge that the text of the peace treaty with Germany is in the hands of New York financiers and purchasable on the streets of London, but withheld from members of the Senate. . . . The Committee on Interstate Commerce unanimously orders a favorable report on the bill of Mr. Kellogg (Rep., Minn.) for immediate return of telegraph and telephone systems to their owners.

June 4.—The Senate adopts a woman-suffrage amendment to the Constitution, by vote of 56 to 25, two more than the necessary two-thirds; the amendment having passed the House, it goes immediately to the State legislatures for ratification.

June 6.—The Senate votes to investigate the Lodge-Borah charges that copies of the peace treaty (not yet officially published) are in the hands of individuals and interests.

The House Committee on Military Affairs completes the annual Army appropriation bill, carrying \$800,000,000 (compared with \$1,117,000,000 in the bill sent to the Senate at the last session).

June 9.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) produces a copy of the treaty of peace with Germany, brought by a newspaper man from Paris, and after long debate succeeds in printing it in the *Record*.

In the House, the Appropriations Committee reports a bill voting \$750,000,000 for the needs of the Railroad Administration, declining to grant the Director General's request for \$1,200,000,000.

June 10.—In the Senate, Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.) offers a resolution serving notice upon the Peace Conference that the Senate desires the separation of the question of a League of Nations from the treaty of peace.

The House passes the Railroad appropriation bill.



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SERGEANT YORK, THE WAR'S GREATEST HERO

(Alvin C. York was a Tennessee mountaineer, an elder in his church, gathered in by the draft. While in action in the Argonne last October he used his rifle and pistol so effectively that 25 Germans were killed and 132 others surrendered to him in the belief that they were opposed by overwhelming numbers. The facts have been duly investigated and accepted by General Pershing and Marshal Foch. The Tennessee legislature, on York's return home last month, made him an honorary Colonel)

June 11.—The Senate committee investigating the source of a copy of the peace treaty is informed by Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, that it was he who had shown it to Mr. Lodge after obtaining it through two New York financiers who had been serving with the American peace delegation in important capacities.

The House decides to appropriate money for an army of 300,000 men; the War Department had wanted 500,000 and the Committee on Military Affairs had recommended 400,000.

June 12.—The Senate Foreign Relations Committee favorably reports the Knox resolution. . . . The Railroad appropriation bill is passed, and also a measure restoring rate-making power to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

In the House the Naval appropriation bill is reported, carrying \$601,500,000—\$120,000,000 less than the bill sent to the Senate at the last session.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 17.—The War Department estimates that America's participation in the war cost \$21,294,000,000.

May 19.—The Secretary of the Treasury appoints R. G. Cholmeley-Jones as head of the War Risk Insurance Bureau (see page 8).

May 21.—The chairman of the Republican National Committee announces a new plan for campaign contributions—a popular appeal with subscriptions limited to \$1000.



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DR. KARL RENNEN
(Chancellor and head of the Austrian peace delegation)

May 23.—A federal judge grants a preliminary injunction restraining Government authorities from interfering with the manufacture of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent. of alcohol.

May 24.—The Supreme Court of the State of Washington holds that the legislature's ratification of the prohibition amendment is subject to a referendum vote of the people.

The War Department announces that it has disposed of surplus material, valued at \$236,000,000, at 88 per cent. of cost.

May 26.—Subscriptions to the Victory Liberty Loan, it is officially announced, totaled \$5,249,908,000, from approximately twelve million persons.

May 31.—It is announced that during May, 320,000 soldiers returning from overseas were landed in the United States.

June 2.—The United States Supreme Court declares the federal government supreme over States in the power to fix rates for railroad, telegraph, and telephone service within a State as well as between States.

June 3.—The first contingent of American troops in northern Russia sails from Archangel, for home, via Brest.

June 4.—The chairman of the Shipping Board announces that the Government intends to furnish ships for the establishment of regular service between the United States and Latin American countries.

June 5.—The Postmaster-General returns to the telegraph and telephone systems actual control of operations but holds subject to Congressional action the question of rates and other financial matters.

June 9.—The Government's monthly crop forecast continues to indicate a record crop of winter wheat—893,000,000 bushels; spring wheat production will not reach last year's record.

June 10.—Illinois becomes the first State to ratify the proposed woman suffrage amendment to the federal Constitution; the legislatures of Wisconsin and Michigan also ratify.

June 12.—The Shipping Board recommends to Congress "private ownership and operation as a fundamental policy for commercial shipping," the Government to retire from building, owning, and operating merchant ships.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 17.—German war losses are estimated in Berlin to have been 2,050,000 dead, 4,207,000 wounded, and 616,000 prisoners.

May 29.—It becomes known that the Mexican bandit Villa has joined the cause of the revolutionist leader, Gen. Felipe Angeles.

June 1.—A Rhine Republic is proclaimed in various cities throughout the Rhine provinces of Germany.

June 5.—Vice-President José Montero becomes president of Paraguay upon the death of President Franco.

June 6.—The Canadian Minister of Finance informs the House of Commons that the year's expenditures will reach \$620,000,000, while revenues will provide only \$280,000,000.

Gen. Alvaro Obregon announces his candidacy for the office of President of Mexico.

June 8.—The self-proclaimed heads of the Rhineland Republic are ejected from their offices by German Government troops, and the separatist movement seems to be at an end.

June 14.—Popular agitation in China, directed against pro-Japanese officials, causes both the Premier and the President to offer their resignations.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 16.—It becomes known that Greek troops have made a forcible landing at Smyrna, Turkey (with British, French, Italian, and American warships in attendance), in accordance with an administrative mandate of the Peace Conference.

May 18.—British warships cooperating with an Estonian army meet hostile Bolshevik destroyers and cruisers in the Gulf of Finland; one Bolshevik destroyer is reported sunk and another stranded.

Food Administrator Hoover declares that during April 591,843 metric tons of foodstuffs, valued at \$147,800,000, were distributed in famine stricken regions of Europe.

May 29.—The Chancellor of the British Exchequer states that the net indebtedness of the British Government to the United States is slightly in excess of \$4,000,000,000.

June 3.—The German Armistice Commission protests against support by the French occupation authorities of the proclamation of the Rhenish republic.

June 8.—Nicaragua asks the United States for aid in protecting the frontier from invasion by a Costa Rican army; defeated Costa Rican revolutionists had crossed the Nicaraguan border and been disarmed, and pursuing Government troops are massed along the frontier.

June 9.—The new American Minister to Denmark, Norman Hapgood, arrives at his post.

June 15.—American troops (3600 cavalry and infantry) cross the border into Mexico to protect El Paso, Texas, during fighting between Villa forces and Carranza government troops.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 16.—Winnipeg, the largest city in western Canada, comes under practical control of a committee conducting a general strike in sympathy with demands of workers in the building and metal trades.

Three United States Navy seaplanes start from Trepassy, Newfoundland, in an attempt to fly to the Azores Islands and thence to Portugal.

May 17.—The seaplane NC-4 reaches the Azores, after a flight of 15 hours and 18 minutes from Newfoundland (creating a new record of 1200 nautical miles in a single flight); fog near the islands causes the two other planes to lose their course, one being abandoned and the other lost for two days.

May 18.—In an attempt to cross the Atlantic in an airplane without stop, two British aviators (Harry G. Hawker and Lieut.-Com. Mackenzie Grieve) are forced by engine trouble to descend 1050 miles from Newfoundland and 850 miles from Ireland, after flying twelve hours; the aviators seek and find a passing vessel.

Eruption of the volcano of Kalut, in Java, causes the death of many thousand persons.



WOUNDED CZECHOSLOVAK OFFICERS WHO CROSSED THE UNITED STATES ON THEIR WAY HOME

(To get from Russia to nearby Czechoslovakia these officers, with eighty of their men, have traveled almost around the world. All of them were wounded in action. They fought first with the Austrians, by compulsion; later they fought for independence. The young woman is Miss Eugenia Patterson, of New York, who has worked among the Czechs in Russian hospitals. At each end is an American who enlisted in the Czechoslovak army)

May 20.—In Winnipeg, the firemen and postal workers join in the strike; telephone and street-car service and newspaper offices have ceased to function, and the Strike Committee establishes a press censorship.

May 24.—A French aviator, Lieutenant Roget, flies from Paris to Rabat, Morocco, 1116 miles, but wrecks his plane when landing.

May 27.—The seaplane NC-4 arrives at Lisbon, Portugal, flying 800 miles from the Azores in 9 hours and 44 minutes and completing the first transatlantic flight; from Newfoundland to Portugal the actual flying time is 26 hours and 47 minutes.

May 30.—Labor leaders in Toronto, the largest city in Canada, order a general strike to enforce their demands for an eight-hour day and recognition of "collective bargaining"; the movement fails to win wide support.

The general strike at Winnipeg, after three weeks, is declared broken so far as Government employees are concerned.

May 31.—The seaplane NC-4 arrives at Plymouth, England, the scheduled end of the transatlantic flight, having traveled from Lisbon, Portugal, with an overnight stop at Ferrol, Spain.

The complete flight, beginning at New York on May 8, covered 3925 nautical miles, with seven intermediate stops in Massachusetts, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Azores (2), Portugal, and Spain.

June 2.—Bombs are exploded simultaneously at residences of ten men in eight Eastern cities who had earned the enmity of anarchistic elements; not one of the intended victims is injured, but in New York a passerby is killed and in Washington (at the home of Attorney-General Palmer) the bomb-planter is blown to pieces.

Strikers in Winnipeg seize control of the session of the Manitoba legislature and demand that the Premier resign.

A Paris newspaper estimates that there are half

a million persons on strike in France, mostly in the metal trades.

June 3.—It is officially stated that during the five-months' epidemic in Paris (October-February) 196,500 persons died of influenza or diseases resulting therefrom.

June 5.—In Winnipeg, four thousand veterans of the war pass resolutions demanding the punishment of those responsible for the strike and for the attempted overthrow of constitutional government, and pledge themselves to maintain law and order.

A powder explosion in a coal mine at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., causes the death of ninety men.

June 6.—The second Pan American Commercial Congress is opened at Washington, with 750 delegates from the United States and Latin America.

June 7.—Adjutant Casale, a French aviator, establishes a new record for height, ascending to 31,152 feet.

June 9.—The American Federation of Labor begins a two-weeks' reconstruction convention at Atlantic City.

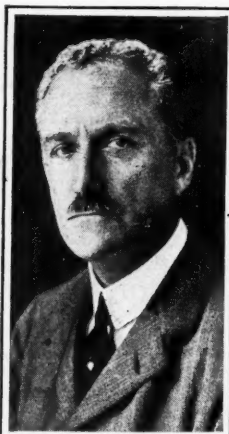
Fire destroys the palace of the Yildiz Kiosk, at Constantinople, the residence of the Sultan of Turkey.

June 11.—A nation-wide strike of telegraph operators, called to enforce demands for recognition of the union and for wage increases, fails to interfere seriously with service.

June 12.—Newspapers in Buenos Aires, Argentina, appear for the first time in thirteen days, having suspended publication rather than accept union printers' refusal to handle an advertisement of a boycotted department store.

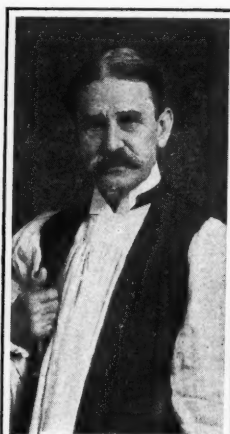
June 14.—The Shipping Board announces that France has ordered 500,000 tons of merchant ships, to be constructed in American yards.

June 14-15.—The first transatlantic crossing by airplane without stop is made by British flier, Capt. John Alcock, and his American navigator,

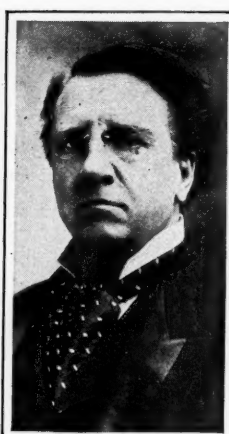


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ROBERT BACON



DAVID H. GREER



JOHN C. SPOONER

(Robert Bacon died on May 29. His early career had been that of banker, but in 1905 he became Assistant Secretary of State, afterwards full Secretary, and in 1909 he was appointed Ambassador to France. He was a firm believer in military preparedness, taking the Plattsburg course and serving as Colonel on the staff of General Pershing. The Rt. Rev. David Hummel Greer had won distinction as a New York pastor, developing a great institutional church. He was chosen Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of New York in 1908, serving until his death on May 19. John Coit Spooner, a Wisconsin veteran of the Civil War, was for sixteen years a member of the United States Senate, attaining distinction as parliamentary debater and constitutional lawyer. He retired in 1907 to practice law in New York City, where he died on June 11)

Lieut. Arthur W. Brown, in a Vickers-Vimy machine; the 1900 miles from Newfoundland to Ireland are covered in 16 hours and 12 minutes.

June 14.—Serious Anarchist and Bolshevik disorders break out in Zurich, Switzerland.

OBITUARY

May 16.—Charles E. Rice, former President Judge of the Pennsylvania Supreme court, 72. . . . Will J. Davis, the Chicago theatrical manager, 75. . . . Granger Farwell, financier and former president of the Chicago Stock Exchange, 62.

May 17.—José Santos Zelaya, president of Nicaragua from 1893 to 1909, 65.

May 19.—Rt. Rev. David Hummel Greer, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York since 1908, 75. . . . Edward Payson Call, long prominent as a newspaper publisher in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, 63. . . . Edward Holbrook, of Connecticut, a leading figure in the silver manufacturing industry, 69.

May 20.—Carl Chester Van Dyke, Representative in Congress from Minnesota and Commander-in-chief of the United Spanish War Veterans, 38.

May 22.—Joseph Rosenbaum, a prominent Chicago grain dealer, 81.

May 27.—George Hodges, D.D., dean of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, Mass., and author of essays on religion, 62.

George Coby Chase, president of Bates College (Maine), 75.

May 28.—Asa Bird Gardiner, prominent New York lawyer and Civil War veteran, 79.

May 29.—Robert Bacon, former Secretary of State and ex-Ambassador to France, 58. . . . Robert Burwell Fulton, formerly chancellor of the University of Mississippi, 70. . . .

James Fowler Wenman, first president of the Board of New York Cotton Brokers, and one of the organizers of the present Exchange, 95.

June 5.—Manuel Franco, President of Paraguay.

June 6.—Frederic W. Thompson, creator of Luna Park, the Hippodrome, and other amusement places, 47.

June 8.—Gordias H. P. Gould, a prominent paper manufacturer of New York and Quebec, 70.

June 9.—Brig.-Gen. John George David Knight, U. S. A., retired, 73.

June 11.—John C. Spooner, formerly and for sixteen years United States Senator from Wisconsin, a noted parliamentary debater and constitutional lawyer, 76.

June 12.—James A. Tawney, former Representative in Congress from Minnesota, with distinguished service as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, 64. . . . Dr. Edward Lindeman, of New York, an authority on blood transfusion.

June 14.—Ernest Lister, Governor of Washington, 49.



CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOON



"THE DOCTOR WILL SEE YOU NOW."—From the News (Dallas, Texas)



ALMOST THERE
From the World (New York)



A SERVICE STRIKE FOR W. W.
(Why not? Been there long enough.)
From the Republican (Laramie, Wyo.)



"LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—"
From the Republic (St. Louis)

THE meeting of a new Congress has given the cartoonists of the country some fresh topics for pencil treatment. The Senate is devoting so much of its time to the League of Nations and the peace treaty that purely domestic policies get comparatively little attention, but the nation is interested in



CONGRESS: "DON'T WORRY, MADAME, I'M AN EXPERT!"
From the Oregonian (Portland)

governmental extravagance and waste, in the handling of public utilities, in woman suffrage, and in a dozen other subjects, as the cartoons reproduced on the first three pages of our department clearly indicate.

On the page facing this, two of the papers edited and published by members of the A. E. F. in Europe are represented. Both



A WILD RIDE
(And Uncle Sam started yelling for help quite a distance back)
From the Beacon (Wichita, Kan.)



THIS MAKES IT UNANIMOUS!
From the Knickerbocker Press (Albany, N. Y.)



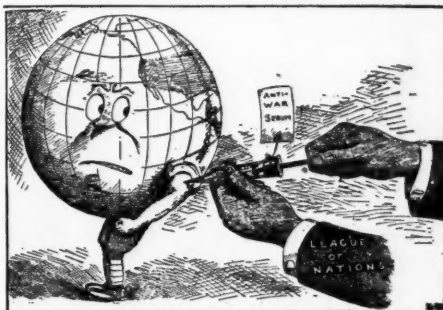
CONGRATULATIONS!
From the *World* (New York)

the *Stars and Stripes* and the *Watch on the Rhine* have published many excellent cartoons from time to time.

Uncle Sam figures in two drawings reproduced at the top of the page from the *New York World*. These are in Mr. Kirby's best vein; the one voices America's hearty acclaim of England's successful crossing of the Atlantic by airplane and the other expresses the nation's scorn of imported anarchy.



"THERE ISN'T ROOM IN THIS COUNTRY FOR
BOTH OF US."
From the *World* (New York)



WE HOPE IT'LL TAKE!
From the *Watch on the Rhine* (Andernach)



OH BOY!
From the *Jersey Journal* (Jersey City)



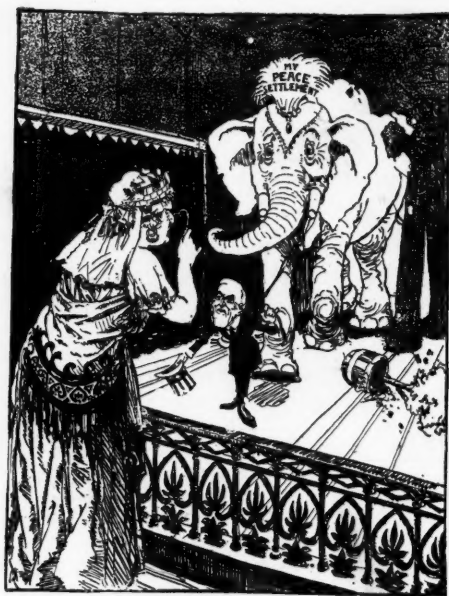
THE OFFICE BOY RETURNS
From the *Stars and Stripes* (A. E. F.)



THE PEACE WAR

NAPOLEON: "Congratulations! You have won more with the pen than I could with the sword."

From Hvepsen (Christiania, Norway)



HELP!

EUROPA (dismayed): "My dear friend, what on earth is this?"

PRESIDENT WILSON: "It is my promised gift to you madam, to guard and protect you."

EUROPA: "Oh, is this your 'watch-dog?'"

From the Passing Show (London)



IN 1871—WILSON WAS THEN ONLY FOURTEEN YEARS OLD

From L'Avenir (Paris)



AT THE WORLD TABLE

MOTHER LLOYD GEORGE (to John Bull and Uncle France): "Don't take such big gulps, you big ones. You are teaching the little ones to do the same."

From Notenkraaker (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE MANNIKINS

"This is the favorite spring fashion this year, madam."

From De Amsterdammer (Amsterdam, Holland)

[Peace is speaking to Dame World, who wishes to put aside her military clothes. Social Democracy and Bolshevism have not appealed to the customer, and American Democracy is offered.]



CLASSICAL CLAIMS

THE CZECHS: "Heir President, Shakespeare speaks in his 'Winter's Tale' of the coast of Bohemia. This coast Bohemia claims."
From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



THE NEW HAMLET

"The time is out of joint: O cursed spite
That ever I was born to set it right!"
From the *Daily Express* (London)



1918: "Wilson, saviour of humanity"



1919: "Wilson comes down with a wallop!"

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)

The rôle of umpire in the controversies of Europe has naturally subjected President Wilson to criticism at times, and the foreign cartoonist has not been slow to exercise his art at the President's expense. In the collection here reproduced some of the more bitter and unsympathetic cartoons have been omitted.



A PRESENT FOR MR. WILSON

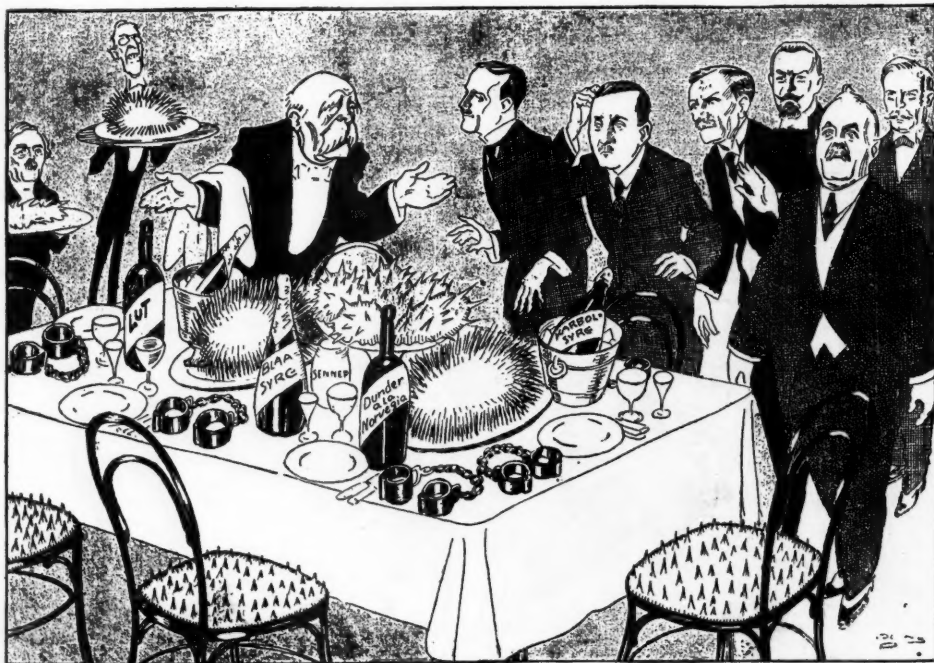
("America has not so far accepted any mandates under the League of Nations' system."—News item)
CLEMENCEAU: "Dear Woodrow, we cannot allow you to deprive yourself of the pleasure of uplifting some of these savage races. In recognition of your great efforts on behalf of your own inestimable principles, we have pleasure in handing you this little gift." —From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

July—3



AT THE INTERNATIONAL DRUG STORE

GERMANY: "Will this medicine bring about a complete recovery?"
From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



THE PEACE MEAL

CLEMENCEAU (to German delegates): "Take your seats, gentlemen!"
[The bottles are labeled "Lye," "Cyannic Acid," "Mustard," "Norwegian Thunder," and "Carbolic Acid"]
From *Hvepsen* (Christiania, Norway)

MY FIVE MONTHS IN FRANCE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. FAMILIAR QUESTIONS

THERE has been so little actual change in the larger aspect of the situation in Paris in the last month that I have thought it might perhaps interest my readers to turn for once from the business of the conference itself to a brief statement of the conditions in France, as I saw them in more than five months of a visit divided between Paris and the regions which at this time last year were still described as "The Front."

The returning traveler finds himself questioned from the moment he reaches the dock in New York about a wide variety of subjects which after all may be summed up in the single query: How is France recovering from the terrible strain of more than four years of destructive warfare on her own soil? What of the people? What of industrial life? What of reconstruction? And always, What of revolution?

It is not possible to answer exactly any of these various questions because the time is still too short. When I first reached France in January the familiar American comment in Paris was that the French people were suffering from "shell shock," and this easy generalization served to cover a world of apprehension of actual French conditions.

The truth was and is that France is suffering not from shell shock but from the most terrible wound conceivable. A million and a half of her best manhood perished in battle or of wounds. Three millions of her civil population were scattered over Europe—refugees in France, prisoners in the occupied district, at last wanderers before the advancing armies. In and out of the army tuberculosis made sad havoc, while thousands of square miles and hundreds of cities, towns and villages were totally or partially destroyed.

It is essential to recognize at the outset, then, that when one speaks of reconstruction in France one is considering the question of years, not of weeks or months. When one speaks of the resumption of industry it is mainly in the future, not the present tense.

You may travel still over hundreds of square miles of territory and through the ruins of cities once considerable and see only a rare and solitary human being. Factories which were destroyed have not been rebuilt. Machinery which was ruined has not been replaced. Industrial Northern France is and must still for a very long time remain paralyzed.

II. THE PEASANT RETURNS

There is only one element in the population which has already begun to return to the old home, and that is the peasant. Just before I left France I traveled for a thousand miles in an automobile through the Meuse-Argonne and St. Mihiel regions in which our armies fought last autumn. Wandering through destroyed towns, wasted fields, along the Oise and Meuse Valleys, with the first warm touch of spring there was a distinct sense of the beginning of a human influx—small but steady.

I know of no more moving spectacle than the sight of these little people coming home—and such homes! Occasionally a house intact, frequently only a room. A wall with a wooden shanty against it, or a portion of a house reconstructed in bagging and oil paper. Even the German dugouts were serving as places of habitation. But almost every little hamlet not actually obliterated had its inhabitants.

And about the hamlets fields were being ploughed—only stray fields, a minor percentage of the total acreage—enough for the necessary food—no more, but a brave, veritable beginning. The people who had thus come back had walked for many, many weary miles, carrying food on their backs or pushing it in a cart, as explorers go into a wilderness. For food, for tools, for everything they had to depend upon themselves. Railways, mails, delivery wagons—these things were non-existent or nearly non-existent. The Germans had wrecked the houses, abolished the roads, trenches and barbed-wire entanglements, climbed the hills and shell holes had blocked the streams, and

transformed the valleys into well-nigh impassable swamps.

I wish it lay in my power to describe the wilderness to which these people returned—not a clean wilderness, but a chaos of destruction, the fields covered with graves, the village streets filled with wreckage, all furnishings gone to German dugouts and thence to Germany or to the fire. Decay of all sorts, filth indescribable, and horrible things everywhere—a country beautiful and fertile turned into something worse than a desert—something unutterably foul and fearful. This was the home to which the French peasant was returning.

Yet by every road, in small groups, men, women and children, carrying their provisions, their scanty food, their few fowls, and driving an occasional cow, were coming home. They walked twenty, thirty miles a day—they came without previous knowledge of what they were to find, but they walked courageously, intrepidly forward through ruined villages they did not know, to their own village, perceiving in advance what was in store for them, but losing neither heart nor strength.

III. THE LOVE OF FRANCE

I wish more of my American friends who talked of French "shell shock" could have seen these infinitely tragic yet memorably splendid caravans of returning French men and women in Artois, Flanders, Picardy, Champagne and Lorraine, as I have seen them. Once on the spot, too, no destruction



A BARE WALL OFTEN FURNISHES SHELTER WHILE THE FRENCH PEASANT STARTS TO BUILD A NEW HOME AND TILL THE FIELDS

appalled them. Without delay they settled to the task. If a room was left, they occupied it. If a shanty could be built, they built it. If only a dugout was available they occupied it, and soon along the hillsides ploughed fields appeared, shell-holes disappeared. A little order began to emerge—and always amidst a desolation beyond exaggeration these men and women, these children, with their faces already marked by suffering, smiled and toiled from sunrise to sunset.

And after all, this is the stock that won Verdun, saved the world in four years of war. France, peasant France, the thing that is greatest in this great nation, is fighting another Verdun, like in all but military circumstances to the supreme struggle along the Meuse three years ago. It is fighting it with the same spirit and it will win the same terrible but eternal victory.

But if it is magnificent it is also pitiful. In Paris, statesmen debate the terms of peace, the economic and financial reparations, the frontiers of Poland and the title to Syria. But while these debates go on, hundreds and thousands of human beings are struggling out in the regions Paris vaguely calls the devastated districts. No German indemnity comes to them, rarely government assistance arrives. All is to be made again—not out of new earth but out of the wreckage of battlefields. Cattle, agricultural implements, the most elementary tools of the farmer, are lacking. The taint of the battlefield is frequently in the air. Live, unexploded shells, bombs, hand-grenades lie about the fields that they must cultivate. There is visible death marked by the unnumbered crosses and hidden death in the remaining munitions, and in the face of this the survivors, frequently the old whose sons lie in the graves of the recent "front," are beginning again.

I have come back to an America, booming with prosperity, intent upon business, and I confess that the contrast of France—of the French fields and provinces—is in my mind. Is it too much to hope that America will not quite forget the French, not of Paris, but of the provinces, who are fighting one more battle—the hardest of all—far out yonder in old battlefields amidst the wreckage, human and material, which is all that survives of what was once a pleasant land of fertile farms and smiling fields?

Yet having seen all this, one can believe in France—in the future of France. A race that can breed men and women brave enough to undertake this new struggle after the last



FRENCH PEASANTS RETURNING TO THEIR HOMES AFTER FOUR YEARS' OF ABSENCE.

(In France the peasant owns his land; and he is certain to go back to it, even though in the ruined districts he expects to find only desolation)

terrible war will not die, surrender, vanish. Wounded—yes, terribly wounded (the shell-shock figure is an insult), but game—capable of this new Verdun. To see what is happening in the remoter provinces is to feel how shallow, after all, are the judgments which hold France doomed, judgments to be placed beside those other indictments of Frenchmen as unstable and mercurial on the very eve of the Marne and of Verdun.

From many visits to the ruined district I brought away the clear impression that France would recover from her wounds, grave as they were, long as the period of convalescence must be. Since half of all the population are peasants in the fields, and the peasants are returning to their own land—for each peasant owns his land—I believe it is possible to dismiss the apprehension that France has been mortally injured. On the contrary, France, the true France—the France of the peasants—is recovering.

IV. INDUSTRIAL FRANCE

On the other hand, industrial France is not recovering. The factories of Lille, Roubaix, Tourcoing are silent. Little machinery has come to replace that wrecked or taken away by the Germans. Lens and the surrounding coal regions are heaps of bricks and shattered timbers. The coal mines are flooded still.

Railroad transportation is only beginning to be restored. When the German left Northern France, he blew up every bridge, wrecked every embankment, burned every railroad station. Railway lines had been shelled and bombed out of existence. New

railways had to be constructed over a desert—and this necessary work has been done on the whole swiftly. Between Paris and Alsace-Lorraine railway communication is again normal. Trains that took twenty hours to go from Paris to Metz or Strasbourg, go in seven or eight now. It is possible to travel from Paris to Lille and Brussels with relative speed and actual comfort; but one travels across a desert, and on every hillside trench lines and shell-holes remain, while railway stations are still lacking.

A part of this gigantic task has been accomplished by German prisoners. All through the devastated district thousands of German prisoners, nearly half a million in all, are filling up trenches, winding up barbed wires, clearing out wreckage, removing live shells and levelling old shell-holes. In all this region they are reconstructing roads. Without this labor nothing could have been done, but of itself it is insufficient and thousands of Chinese, Annamites, Africans are also engaged in this, the most gigantic of all cleaning-up operations.

For these German prisoners I have heard much sympathy expressed. Certainly theirs is not a pleasing job; yet without exception they appeared well fed, well clothed—a striking contrast to Allied prisoners—nor did they seem to work hard. As for their guards, they slept along the roadside, while the prisoners came and went, rode on horseback, drew wagons—at all events, they did not think of escaping. Moreover, if for the individual the punishment was severe, for the race it was just. It was fair that some part, only a small part, of the devastation should



GERMAN PRISONERS ASSISTING IN THE TASK OF RESTORING FRENCH AGRICULTURE

be undone by those who collectively had wrought it.

But it was of industrial France I had set out to speak just now, and industrial France is, I fear, flat—not hopeless, but as yet incapable of starting itself. So much is lacking—machines, raw materials, factories and labor itself—for French casualty lists have sadly changed the man power of France for peace as well as for war.

If one can be optimistic about agricultural France, the same is not true of industrial France. In this field France is not beginning, or is starting only with extreme slowness. And here is the obvious peril. The war has made France a poor country. It lacks the capital, the money, to buy raw materials. With a depreciated currency, to buy them in foreign countries, to buy the machinery, to buy all that is essential to begin industrial life, is to risk financial chaos. Only the German indemnities can restore the stability of French currency, if America will not lend, and against the coming of the indemnity the government stolidly refuses to permit foreign purchases. So the paralysis continues on the industrial side. Here Germany has won, at least temporarily. She has put one nation out of the race—while her own factories are intact.

I do not think one can exaggerate the gravity of the French industrial situation. Without credit, without loans, without aid, French industry cannot start life. A depreciated currency makes the situation difficult within and dangerous without the frontiers. In Paris there is activity and a superficial appearance of activity and prosperity, but be-

tween Paris and Belgium, between the Channel and the Oise—in all the once busy land of manufacture—there is a silence, which can only mean economic paralysis. Even in the shell-torn hillsides you can plough and plant—save in a few regions like the Somme and the Chemin-des-Dames; but amidst the ruins of Lens, in the machine-less factories of Lille, within flooded mines of the coal regions, you cannot work.

If France were like England or Germany—mainly an industrial country—her future would be grim indeed. Fortunately this is not the case. But in so far as she is industrial, her suffering will be great and her recovery slow. And it is out of this situation that the French demand for indemnities, for the Sarre coal basin, for German reparation, has grown. If these demands seem excessive, it is because those who find them so have not seen the other side. France wills to live—is making a gallant fight to live after the war, as during the struggle—but if Germany does not pay, life at least seems impossible.

V. THE DOUGHBOY IN FRANCE

There is another question frequently asked of me since I returned—"What of the American Army?" I did not see the army, since in a fighting sense it had ceased to exist before I reached France. What I did see were thousands and thousands of Americans in uniform and under arms all over France. And I confess that as an American I saw these thousands with wonder and with pride.

I recall the first real experience when in the first days of February I went from Paris to Metz, and as the train crept over the long weary miles I saw along the road and in every village literally thousands of American soldiers. They were, in a sense, lonely figures. The land was under snow—it was bitterly cold. There was a far-away look in every pair of eyes, together with a certain degree of puzzlement—for in a sense the whole A. E. F., once the fighting stopped, wondered and continued to wonder why it staid in Europe.

Since he did not understand the language or the civilization about him, and it was different from his own, the American soldier affected and plainly felt a certain sense of superiority. Physically he was, on the average, the finest man in Europe. So much of the best of France and Britain was buried on the tragic battlefields, and this he felt. There was race pride. You felt it, too, see-



THE AMERICAN DOUGHBOY IN FRANCE—HIS JOB IS FINISHED AND HE LONGS FOR HOME

ing these Americans in the lonesome places of the world, remote hamlets all the way from Bar-le-Duc to Baden—a sudden revelation that we Americans are not only a nation but a race and you and the man who guarded a water tank or cranked a Ford car under the shadow of the Vosges were at once alike and together different from all else about.

But there was something big and free and simple about the American soldier. He was like a child in much—though not in fighting. He took his Europe unabashed and unblinking—he saluted his officers with extra fervor, not because they were officers, but because they were American officers. But amidst all that was strange, uncomfortable, incomprehensible, he preserved his poise, his chuckle, his indescribable slang and his never-failing good humor.

It was the pick of our youth, this A. E. F. In groups it was frequently awkward, occasionally grotesque—but always strong, wholesome. Our army was not drunken nor was it unclean. I think of the boys in the Tuileries Gardens and on the ship—some of them Marines, with all the glory that the designation carries, as they talked with my six-year-old son—gathering at his port-hole each morning to discuss with him solemnly such great problems as he presented. Often they seemed in a way of the same age—his older brothers, kind and careful brothers.

And this sense of wholesome freshness, of clean youth, was about almost all of them. They saw Europe unabashed and unafraid—they clamored for America incessantly. They were frequently absorbed in America in the midst of Paris. I saw five hundred of them following a scrub baseball game in the

Bois de Boulogne, totally ignorant of the fact that Marshal Foch was passing by—their eyes were all for the national game before them.

Self-sufficient they were—their humor as surprising as joyous. They spoke a score of dialects—Southern, Northern, Eastern and Western. In the United States one would have commented on the differences, but in France it was the amazing resemblances that was impressive. One said again and again, "We are a race after all."

VI. ONLY PRAISE

And for these American soldiers I heard only praise—such criticism as there was, and it was not considerable, was for officers. Some of these, newly come to rank by accident, as is necessary in the making of such an army as ours, were inferior to their task, but not the soldier. British, French, Americans, all who had reason to know, told me the same story. These boys—and they are boys—walked through all the hell of our Meuse-Argonne battle—for most of them their first battle—commanded by junior officers equally new, lacking in much, alike in training and material, facing the best of German troops, fortified beyond description. They went where no men then surviving in European armies would go, for four years had had their effect. And by the sheer weight of their numbers, their courage, their blind optimistic faith in the ultimate certainty that nothing could withstand the United States of America represented by themselves, they passed the Meuse from Sedan to Verdun—fought until the very last second before the armistice, and

then with one voice demanded to be set down in the United States without delay.

The Doughboy in Europe was something different from all else—he was himself. He only saw America. He was Kansas, Texas, Maine or Indiana—unmistakable. But no European could distinguish. He was so much more American than provincial. He had the deviltry of youth, the serenity of newly-acquired physical power. He was without malice, rarely if ever drunk, boisterous but not unruly. He had his own convictions, his own grievances. He was inclined to nurse injuries, which he sometimes invented and frequently magnified—but there was a splendor about him that made every last American in Europe almost unreasonably proud. He talked only America, he thought only America. His home town became a new Athens. With the thought of his own cottage in mind he sniffed at French châteaux, but he was capable of anything, from running a locomotive to building a bridge—his vitality was not to be concealed. Yet he saw himself not inaccurately—he laughed at himself and his comrades. He was not a hero. When he talked of his achievements it was with the joy of an artist in invention, not of a conceited, self-satisfied booster—and it was the story, not the glory, that counted with him.

I wish I could give some really accurate portrait of the American Doughboy in Europe, but it is beyond my power. Certainly no nation was ever more wonderfully represented abroad than our own. A lonely figure, too, despite his unfailing humor, his jibes and his horseplay, the American soldier was. He was a stranger in a very strange land, and there is something infinitely pathetic in the lone graves straggling about the scattered villages all the way from Argonne to the Meuse. A little perplexed as to the reasons for his exile, seized with an intense longing at all times to be home—once the job was done and done right—but in some strange way acutely conscious that he represented America in Europe and therefore had certain obligations conferred upon him, the first of which was to demonstrate the in-

dubitable superiority of America to Europe in all that really counted.

And when the last of him has gone from Europe, save for the thousands who sleep in graves French peasants are already tenderly caring for, I am sure the legend of the American Doughboy will survive and flourish in the land in which whenever it rained—as it usually did—he chuckled over "Sunny France." If he was ever understood fully, he was appreciated. He made friends. He broke hearts and sometimes heads afterwards when his victories were resented. His generosity was boundless, his youth in an old country—whose youth had largely been sacrificed before he came—was magnificent. He was never conquered, benevolently assimilated, culturally captured—he clamored for gum and consumed candy by the ton, but he did every job that was asked of him. He did more than anyone could or did expect of him. He frequently performed miracles because his superiors could not perform the most rudimentary tasks—being new to the game. He would have gone to Berlin if he had not been stopped by the Armistice. But in the shadow of Rheims Cathedral he continued to talk about the "Goddess of Liberty."

Moreover, and this is final, neither the German, nor any other race which saw him in action will ever invite him to come to Europe again as the Kaiser and his advisers did two brief years ago. The next time a President of the United States happens to say "too proud to fight" Europe will recognize that he is indulging in a figure of speech, not a statement of fact. But the American soldier did more than teach Europe the greatness of America—he fought. Every American who saw him in Europe learned something new and unforgettable about his own country. The Doughboy's faith in his country was as simple, complete, unqualified as that of a child, but for that faith and in that faith he walked and lived and died, as only strong men can. And of this, the greatest of all his revelations, he was at all times unconscious.



POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN EUROPE

BY FRANK A. VANDERLIP

A LETTER TO THE EDITOR, FROM MR. VANDERLIP

DEAR DR. SHAW:

I am glad to have you publish in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS the address which I recently made before the Economic Club, with which are here incorporated for your purposes some extracts from other of my more recent speeches.¹ I am profoundly convinced of the importance of America seeing the European situation in its true light.

I have been called an alarmist because of some of the things that I have said in regard to Europe. Some people have, in this connection, called me a pessimist. I feel that I am neither. I have a deep conviction that the European situation is in every respect as serious as I have in any way indicated. Instead of being a pessimist, I have perhaps been a realist. At least I have tried to see conditions as they actually exist.

While the European situation presents features of the deepest gravity, and while there are possible consequences that may develop from present conditions that would mean a great catastrophe, I am, in the face of all that, filled with optimism in regard to our own future—an optimism indeed that runs beyond anything I have ever felt in my life—if we do our part in helping Europe to get on its feet again. If Europe once starts back toward normal life, the position that America will occupy will, I believe, transcend anything that any nation ever occupied before. But we must not forget our intimate relation to Europe. We must not believe that we can smugly live on in prosperity if European civilization suffers a still greater blow than anything the war brought to it.

Faithfully yours,
F. A. VANDERLIP.

I WENT to Europe on the *Lapland*, sailing at the end of January. That ship was loaded with American manufacturers and representatives of American manufacturers, who were going over to sell goods, who felt that the war had probably so helped European industry that they were going to have to face sharper conditions of competition than they had ever known. These men had no more conception of the Europe they were going to than I had.

You believe I may have something to tell about the most remarkable situation the world has ever seen. I believe I have, and I

am going to tell you straight. I am going to tell you some of the things that I have seen, some of the conclusions that I have reached, and I think you will be shocked. I was shocked when I learned, as I did within twenty-four hours after I got on the other side, that most of my preconceived notions of what had happened to Europe should be thrown into the waste-basket and that I should have to start over again to find out what had happened to Europe.

Now it is fair for you to know something of what I have done in Europe, where I have been, whom I have seen, before I begin to give you some of my conclusions.

I was in Europe from the first of February to the ninth of May. I spent some time

¹ Mr. Vanderlip's observations printed herewith will appear in more extended form in a volume about to be published by the Macmillan Company, under the title "What Happened to Europe."

in England, first; then I went to France, to Switzerland, to Italy, to Spain, back to Paris again; then to Belgium and Holland, and back to London. It is a fair statement to say that I saw the leading men in those countries. I met every finance minister; I met many of the Prime Ministers. I met the leading financiers and bankers, great employers of labor, labor leaders. And what I have to tell you is not just an opinion of my own snatched-out of the blue sky. It is a reflection, perhaps a composite, of the opinions of the first minds in Europe. If it were not, I would not dare stand before you and tell you some of the things that I am going to tell you.

I believe it would be possible, too, for one to take exactly the trip that I took, to see the cities that I saw, and still return to this country with different conclusions than I have about Europe. But I believe I have been fortunate in seeing men, as well as things, and I think I have a true mental picture of Europe.

America's Interest

I want to say right at the beginning that however black a background I paint—and it will be dark—I would not paint it, I would not tell the story, except that I believe America must know it, must comprehend it, that we must get it into our hearts and minds, because we must act. And if we do act, we can save Europe from a catastrophe, a catastrophe that will involve us. That is why I feel moved to tell such an assemblage as this something of the conditions that I saw over there, something of some of the consequences that may flow from those conditions. I believe that it is possible that there may be let loose in Europe forces that will be more terribly destructive than have been the forces of the Great War. I believe we can probably save the situation from anything occurring as fearful as that. If I did not believe it, I should hesitate to say what I shall about conditions.

Europe's Paralyzed Industry

If I were to try to put in two words what I sum up as the most essential thing to grasp about the situation in Europe, the two words would be "paralyzed industry." There is idleness, there is a lack of production throughout Europe and, indeed, in England, that you can hardly comprehend. There is a difficulty about a resumption of work on ordinary peace affairs that, I think, nobody

could be made to comprehend who did not see it on the ground.

Now, of course, there is a great scar across Europe where there has been devastation. I hardly need to speak of that. You have been told that story. I have seen it from the German border to Zeebrugge, and no words can make you comprehend the awfulness of that scar. The complete destruction, the insane destruction, the destruction that went far beyond military necessities, destruction that despoiled factories for the purpose of destroying commercial competition—there was a great deal of that. But after all that is only a scar across Northern France and Belgium, destroying a considerable part of the industry of those two countries, it is true, but it is not that devastated district that I speak of. It is the idleness throughout all countries where there has been nothing of the hand of war laid upon industry, only the hurt of this after-war situation that has in it promise of being a more terrible hurt than the war itself. Now, why should a factory unharmed by the war, in the midst of a continent wanting everything insistently, be idle? Why should there be a million people in England receiving an unemployment dole? Why should there be in little Belgium 800,000 people receiving a weekly unemployment wage?

How Can Raw Materials Be Paid For?

Let me try to give you some picture of the difficulties that a manufacturer is under in Europe to-day in an attempt to start up his factory. In the first place, his labor has been dissipated and he faces a very difficult labor situation, although he is surrounded by idleness. The war has had a bad effect upon the morale of people. That is particularly noticeable in Belgium, where for four and one-half years there has been partial idleness of people supported from the public purse, which has had a serious effect upon the character, for the moment at least, of those people. But our manufacturer must have raw material. Probably it must come from out of the country. He must have exchange with which to pay for it. He must have credit, very likely. Now I have come to see these nations from a new point of view, from a point of view of what they must have from outside to sustain life and go on in a more normal course. And what do they have with which to pay for it?

Let me picture a pair of balances, into one scale-pan of which you will put all the things

that a nation must have—in Italy, coal and cotton; in France, cotton and wool and most of the metals. Let us put in the other pan everything that a nation has to export. Well, obviously at the moment, these nations wanting everything—industry disorganized, and nothing to send out—our scales are out of balance. What can be done? We cannot take anything out of the pan containing the nations' necessities, because presumably we have reduced these imports as low as they can go and have the nations live. Put more in the other pan, representing the nations' exports? But you cannot put more in if your industries are paralyzed. What other way is there to balance this? And it must be balanced, else the things cannot be had that are essential to the nations' life. Well, normally we would put gold in there, but, of course, now there is no gold that these countries can spare. What else can we put in? Credit—that is the one thing. There are just three things that will go into this balance to balance these necessary things that the nation must have—goods, gold, credit. So right on the threshold a manufacturer needs a foreign credit. He must have foreign credit if his raw material is to come from abroad. Now, what are some of the other things that are difficult? He is facing a wage situation in which the wages of pre-war days have been doubled or tripled. He is in a currency situation that is chaotic. Some of these nations have a variety of currency at the present time that is almost laughable, except that it is horribly serious.

Poland's Currency Troubles

Take the situation of Poland, for example, and Poland was a great manufacturing district about Warsaw. When the present Government was formed, this country, made out of a piece of Russia, a piece of Germany, and a piece of Austria, had first a currency of the old Czar rubles, of the Kerensky rubles, of the Bolshevik rubles, and counterfeits of the Czar rubles and the Kerensky rubles. There were German marks, and an issue of marks that Germany forced the Warsaw district to make, and then, worth least of all, perhaps, were the Austrian crowns with three-eighths of one per cent. of gold back of them. That Government had to consolidate in some way this terrific mass of currency, and the difficulties that this has thrown upon getting things started would in themselves be almost enough to bring about the paralysis that is found there.

Money Difficulties in England, France, and Belgium

The currency in other countries, while not quite so intricate, is almost equally involved. In France there were a little less than 6,000,000,000 bank notes which formed the nation's currency prior to the war. To-day there are 36,000,000,000 francs of notes of the Bank of France. Now 36,000,000,000 francs of paper money is a sum so vast that you can hardly grasp it. Its effect has been greatly to enhance prices. England itself has an enormous issue of what is practically fiat money—about a billion and a half dollars, I believe it is. These currency notes are secured by a comparatively small amount of gold—about 28,000,000 pounds sterling. In Belgium the Germans forced a bank to make a great issue of notes. It flooded the country with marks, and when the Belgian Government came back they had to take those marks up. They had to issue their own notes, or, in part, bonds against the marks. About 6,000,000,000 marks were so taken up. When France got Alsace-Lorraine she also got about 4,000,000,000 marks along with it, and had to redeem them. It cost France a billion dollars in her bank-note currency which she put out at 1.25 for the mark in a franc. So the currency situation makes a great difficulty.

Thousands Literally Starving

Then there is another paralysis that affects every manufacturer, that affects the whole life of Europe more than you can imagine—the paralysis of domestic railway transportation. In some parts of Europe that has become extremely serious. Mr. Hoover told me that the breakdown in transportation in Central Europe, in the countries east of Germany, was so serious that there was bound to be starvation of hundreds of thousands of people simply because the food could not be moved. If ports were full of food there would still be many, many, many thousands of people starving. Starving people! Do you know they really starve to death by hundreds of thousands? It is a long way off. We don't get it. We don't understand it. It is a sort of oratorical expression—that people are starving. But it's true, only too literally and terribly true!

In Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in much of the Balkan country, the starvation has been appalling, and will continue to be appalling, and people will face a year from now a food situation worse than they have

faced this spring, and I say that on the highest possible authority. Why is that? Because Russia has ceased to be a producer for export, because Rumania, who had sent a hundred million bushels of grain into Europe had been swept clean of her work cattle—was without seed, and could plant only a part of her fields, and her Premier told me that this year she would not raise anything whatever for export. All they hoped for was to raise what would feed their own people. This sweeping away of work cattle, of work horses is very serious. Think! Why, I have seen in Belgium men hitched to a drag starting off across long fields, two men pulling an ordinary drag that a horse would draw. I have seen rows of men and women spading their great fields because they did not have the animals to do the plowing. Mr. Paderewski told me that in Poland, because of lack of work animals, because of lack of seed, not over one-third of the acreage could be planted this year. So you have that combination of lack of production and of a paralysis of transportation and even though there were a sufficient amount of food at the ports it could not be moved to the people.

The Lack of a Market That Can Pay

I was telling you something of the difficulties of the manufacturer. This difficulty of transportation is an extremely real one. It affects the manufacturer in getting his raw material, the lack of which prevents him from sending his finished products. But what about the market for his finished products? There is the rub. The markets of Europe are ravenous for things, and they have nothing with which to pay. The manufacturer starting with a disorganized labor situation, a wage-scale three times the pre-war scale, a demoralized morale, great difficulty in getting foreign exchange to pay for his raw materials, great difficulty in getting bottoms to ship them in, great difficulty in getting them transported to him after it arrives at a port, may still produce. But after he produces he has not a market that can pay, a market that will give him the means to go on completing the industrial cycle of buying more raw material and paying his labor.

That is serious almost beyond our understanding because we have not realized, at least I had not realized, how like a great manufacturing community Europe is. Europe has increased its population since the

Napoleonic wars from 175,000,000 to 440,000,000. Just think of those figures—175,000,000 to 440,000,000! Europe did not become any more productive. She probably does not raise a very great amount of food more than she did one hundred years ago. How has she fed these people? You can just compare Europe to a New England mill town. If there were no market for the product of the mills of that town, if you could not sell, what would happen? You could not continue the industrial processes, your people could not earn the wages that they must pay to bring food into the town, and they would go hungry or they would go out. A responsible minister of the British Government said to me, "If you can't get the industries of Europe started so that Europe in turn can make an effective demand upon the industries of England, the British Government will have to get five or six million Englishmen out of England and nearer to the sources of food supply."

It is this that we must grasp—that these industries must be kept going in these highly industrialized European countries if the people are to live. Take England, the most thickly populated country in the world, with seven hundred people to the square mile. They have built up that whole island into an industrial community that can live only by selling abroad a great part of the products of the factory and, with the proceeds of that export, buying more raw material and the food for the population.

England Threatened with Revolution

Let me tell you a little about England—England as I see it. The England that I saw on the first of February was an England on the very verge of revolution. You didn't get that over here, but it is a fact generally admitted by all Englishmen. When I arrived in London—I think it was the second of February—the streets were full of army lorries trying to carry the people because there were strikes on the district railway and in the "tube." Coal miners were threatening an immediate strike and the supply of coal was so scarce that living there was most uncomfortable. Up in Glasgow there were such riots that they had sent military tanks to patrol the streets. The railroad men were threatening a complete tie-up of all transportation service. The electricians were threatening to put London in absolute darkness and we were all pro-

vided with candles throughout the evening, expecting the light to be cut off at any moment. Happily there has been a great change in that situation. The great underlying common sense of the English came to the rescue and differences were partly composed. The coal miners demanded, and received, a Royal Commission that should within a few days examine their claim for higher wages and shorter hours, and that examination did not leave a doubt in a mind in England that the miners had made out a case. The differences were composed with the railroad people, and for the moment the outlook is peaceful so far as any revolution is concerned.

A Million Houses for British Workingmen

But I should like to examine for you a little further, the English situation. England has held the premier position in the international industrial markets. America grew, but England grew too. America grew faster, so did Germany grow faster, but England had up to the outbreak of the war held the premier position. How did she hold it? She had little raw material, some iron and some coal. That was all. I will tell you how she held it. She held it by underpaying labor. That was her differential. That is how she competed. She underpaid labor until that labor to-day has not a house over its head in England, and the Government is undertaking to build a million houses for workingmen. A million houses! English industry made a red-ink overdraft on the future by underpaying labor so that it did not receive enough to live efficiently, and you know, if you have been in the mill towns of England, that there grew up a secondary race there of small, underfed, under-educated, under-developed people. Well, England must pay the overdraft now. She found that a third of her men of military age were unfit for military service. One of Lloyd George's most famous utterances was that "you can't make an A-1 nation out of a C-3 population." They all see it, and that differential that England has had in international trade is gone.

But that is not all. England must maintain her markets if she is to maintain her population. Remember, she is an industrial community just like an industrial village. She has this vast population that her fields will not sustain. She must bring in raw material, pass it through her factories, sell the product abroad, and have margin enough to get more raw material and the food she

needs, and she is facing the demoralized markets of Europe. I believe that these markets must be rebuilt. I believe that is the real peace treaty now. There cannot be peace when there are idle people, lack of production, want and starvation; and these are things that are current in Europe.

England's Paper Money and Heavy War Costs

I have told you a little of English industry. Let me tell you just a word of English finance. The outstanding fact in England is that she is off the gold basis. Very great consequences flow from that. You know that the day after war was declared, she began to print paper money. The Bank of England had a rigidity that permitted of no expansion. Gold disappeared from circulation over night. There was urgent need for more currency, and the Government started its printing-press. It has added to the total of its fiat issue every week during the war, I think, and is still adding. That issue is secured by a deposit of a little gold, perhaps twenty-eight and a half million pounds of gold under it. That amount has remained stationary, and there are government securities also back of this currency issue. But, of course, that is "pig on pork" as we say—that is, merely securing the Government's obligation with the Government's obligation, and in the present situation practically any Bank of England note is not redeemable. Normally they are redeemable in gold. But neither the Bank of England nor the Government has the gold to redeem any great quantity; and if anybody wanted to ask for a redemption they would be closely questioned as to the use they wanted to make of the gold. The difficulty of making any use of gold in a country which puts an embargo on its export is such that the redemption quality has now disappeared.

The English fiscal year begins with the first of April. From the first of April to the armistice, England's war cost was $7\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds a day, roundly. It was a little under that. In the months since the armistice her war cost has been $6\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds a day. Why, the cost of this war after the armistice is going to amaze the world!

France on the Verge of Exhaustion

Now let me turn to France for a moment. France is bled white. That is a trite statement, but it is a statement that comes to you with crushing force when you really see

France; when you see to-day women in the railway yards, women on the street-cars, women at many things that men should be doing. When you see men well along in the forties still in uniform, you begin to appreciate what has happened in the way of loss of man power. Of course, in Northern France you do not expect to find anything but devastation and idleness. But there is idleness all over France just as you find in England, just as you find in Belgium, just as you find in Italy.

French Finances

In France, the paper money is the issue of the Bank of France—a bank that has been wonderfully well managed, that has gone through all the wars that have been fought since its organization, without any question of insolvency. But the amount of currency issued by the great Bank of France reaches an appalling figure. The total at the outbreak of the war was between five and six billions of francs. A total of thirty-six billions had been reached when I was in Paris, and the Chamber of Deputies had been asked to increase the legal limit to forty. Now thirty-six billions of francs is a vast amount. We have grown used to handling this word "billions," perhaps, without understanding it. I think, perhaps, the French mind is less capable of understanding these great figures than the minds of some other peoples. The Frenchman is wonderful at detail. He is, nationally speaking, a man of small business, and I rather conceive that numerals in nine ciphers get beyond his range.

When I first went to Paris, in the middle of February, there was a situation that seemed to me to raise at once a question of the solvency of the French Government. It is facing a budget of twenty-two billion francs this year. France had a debt, prior to the war, that was larger than that of most countries. It was about \$160 per capita. Her funded debt to-day by no means measures her position. The Government owes the Bank of France twenty billion francs of short-term unfunded paper. They are pledged to tremendous payments to the families of the injured, payments of reparation to the people who have had their homes or business destroyed. It was estimated to me by, I believe, competent persons, that when the Government of France has discharged her obligations to her own people, she will have a total obligation of three hundred billion francs.

Italy's Tragic Situation

Here is Italy with its great army not disbanded, and she cannot disband it without disbanding it into idleness, and she is afraid of idleness. Poor Italy! You know I am pro-Italian since I spent three weeks in Italy. I had some preconceptions about Italy, reinforced by current conversations in England and in France and elsewhere—that Italy came into the war when she got her price; that the greatest thing that she had accomplished was a phenomenal defeat, and that when the war was over she wanted to claim the credit and grab all of the "swag" that she could. Well, that view is not correct. When Italy came into the war she came to the side that at the time certainly did not look as if it had the best chance. She did as brilliant fighting in those high places as men ever did in the world. By treachery, through surprise, she suffered a horrible defeat. Her heart was torn open, and she came back and put the enemy back. She defended a line as long as the line across France. She lost as many men in proportion to her population as England lost, and she has buried herself under a crushing debt. My sympathy is with Italy.

An Instance of Italian Patriotism

I believe you may be interested in an Italian story. A good many nations and a good many military organizations think that they won the war. Well, I can tell you of one man, just one man, who, if he did not win the war, saved the Allies from defeat, and that man was an Italian, a great manufacturer at Genoa. His father had been a great manufacturer before him, and had been filled with the idea that he would resist German penetration, that no German money should ever get control in that factory, and his two sons inherited that feeling and were absolutely free from any German taint. When the war broke out they offered to turn their great shops into munition works to make guns. They think there was still German influence in the Italian Government, but whether or not there was, they got no orders. That did not phase them. They got the designs of French guns and they made two thousand cannon—two thousand splendid field pieces—and when that terrible defeat came to Italy and the Italian Government hastened to them to ask them to make guns they had two thousand ready at once to put into the field. But still they had difficulty in getting further orders. At last they

got orders, but they could not get paid. At one time, the Italian Government owed this single corporation 700,000,000 lire.

The firm employed 100,000 men. They made 10,000 field guns. There may be some men here who have tried to make guns for our army, and however desperately they tried they did not, in the months between the declaration of war and the finish of the war, get very many of them over there, and they will appreciate what making 10,000 guns means. That is what this one concern did. They financed the situation in spite of not being able to get paid, although they did finally get paid. I believe that just those two men who ran that concern, who had such patriotism, such foresight, such enormous financial strength, such great industrial ability as to produce these things, saved Italy from defeat, and an Italian defeat would have been very serious to the Allied cause. And now Italy, under this tremendous debt, has to have a million tons of coal a month, has to have its cotton, has to have everything. This balance of necessities is weighted way down and the balance of its exports is high in the air. They have little to put in. Their situation is very serious.

Bolshevism in Spain

I saw something of the neutral countries, too. I was in Spain. Spain has been unharmed, has prospered as she never prospered before, and but for a terrible canker in her heart would be the most promising place in Europe. That canker is the labor situation. There was presented at Barcelona as perfect a laboratory of Bolshevism as you ever saw. An organization that was the most mysterious, the most terrifying of any organization that I ever encountered. It takes in the whole labor population there. It is secret to the extent that the members themselves do not know who guides it. It calls general strikes merely for gymnastic exercises. It rules by assassination. At the time I was there seventy-two employers and foremen had within a few weeks been assassinated—and not one conviction. No witnesses would testify. They were terrified. No juries would convict; they were terrified. They had terrified the papers. They had told the papers, "you can't publish anything that we do not censor." They censored one paper for publishing an official order of the Government, fined it 5000 pesetas, and told the owners they would destroy the presses if they did not pay. They did pay, but the

censorship became so absurd that every paper there stopped publication. Now there was Bolshevism in the making aided by Russian money, aided by German men. There is no question about it whatever.

Counterfeit Money

This use of Russian money brings up an interesting subject. I do not know how much you have seen of it in the papers here, but the best bureau of engraving and printing, the best money factory in the world, next to the Bureau of Printing and Engraving in Washington, was located in Petrograd. The theory of the Bolsheviks was that in their order of society there was no place for money. They saw it was difficult, however, to go on without money, and so they set to work to print so much money as to make money useless. They went further than that. They wanted money for their propaganda purposes in other countries. They found no way so easy as to make it. They have counterfeited the pound, the franc, the mark, the lira, the peseta. To what extent I am unable to say. That it has been done there is no question. Some of the English counterfeits have found their way to England. A good many of the English counterfeits were used in the Near East, because they liked the pounds better there than rubles, and so the Bolsheviks supplied the pound.

Industry Must Be Restarted

Regarding Russia, the picture I see is a Russia exploited by Germany, with no one to hinder, because the Russian leaders have been driven from the country or exterminated there. That opens an interesting prospect of the future of Europe. Of course Germany will be hampered by every possible means that can be laid upon her. Nothing is too severe, if it could be wreaked upon the people who deserve the punishment. I doubt if all the German people do deserve the punishment. I believe it was a small minority that led Germany into this war. I have been tremendously impressed with the power of minorities. Those are two examples, but you find examples everywhere, of what an active minority, capable in handling propaganda, can do, matched against the phlegmatic majority that does not hang together and does not try to present its case.

And so there is, in every country in Europe, a small minority to-day that actually questions the justice and right of the present

capitalistic order. There is no doubt that it wielded an influence out of all proportion to its numbers,—that it was active, intelligent, that it put out propaganda and was dangerous. I believe there is such a minority in every European country that is dangerous. The things that it will best feed upon are dissatisfaction, want and hunger.

And that is why, I believe, there is no safety in the world if we cannot devise some means of re-starting industry in Europe—giving employment to those people, setting production going again, giving them something to exchange for the things that they must have. And I am impressed with the wealth of America compared with those countries that to live must have great importations from outside of the country. Take poor Italy. She has not a pound of coal. She must have a million pounds a month—must have cotton, wool, minerals—in fact, all the great raw materials. Take the situation of France—much more self-contained, so far as mere food is concerned, but absolutely dependent upon us for cotton; on Italy and Japan for silk, and on other countries for other raw materials—and France is not a great exporting nation. She used to balance her budget by income on her foreign investments. Just look at those foreign investments for a moment—twenty billion of francs invested in Russian Government Loan; five billions in Russian industries; five billions in Turkish Government paper; a large amount in Greek and Balkan security. Now the income on that huge foreign investment went far to balance the international position of France and that income has disappeared.

Well, I could go on putting on black paint on this background, but I think I have covered enough. Now is it hopeless, or can we do something about it? That is the whole point. Well, we can do something. We have got to do something about it. If we do not, it will do something about us.

We Must Send Materials, Machinery, Food

Well, what can we do? I do not believe that we can furnish the credit to rehabilitate the Governmental credits of Europe. Many of them are too badly involved already. I do believe that we must furnish these things that are essential to the re-starting of industry in Europe, and I believe we must furnish these things to all Europe. It won't do to use the usual methods of money-lenders; to pick out the best security and say we will

take a chance on this and let the rest go. We must lend in the measure of the necessity, rather than in the measure of the security, because there is no security anywhere so long as you leave part of Europe idle, in want and hunger, ready for Bolshevism, ready for some uprising, something that will better their condition. And I want to tell you that there is a minority in every country in Europe, an active minority, that believes in a program for upsetting the present social order. In England employers estimated to me that that minority was 10 to 15 per cent. A minority that actually believes the whole theory of property rights should be abandoned, that we should go into a communistic state of society. There is inflammable material in every country in Europe. You leave any part of it unprotected, you leave any part of it idle, hungry, starving, and there is going to be social disorder that will be a plague spot. It is infectious. It is likely to spread. So I believe that if we are to tackle this subject of rehabilitating the industry of Europe, we must make a comprehensive job of it. We have got to furnish the raw material, the machinery, a certain amount of food, and the equipment for railroads to make a start at getting this industrial cycle going again all over Europe.

Now some of you may say, "Vanderlip is excited. He has got too imaginative a brain in looking at this thing. This war is over. This tangle is going to work out in the long run, it always has. There have been tangles before. There have been wars before, and in the long run this will work out. Don't get excited. Let us take care of ourselves at home. Let us not get involved in too many foreign financial entanglements." You know that a hungry stomach cannot wait for the economists' "in the long run." The man starves to death, and before he will do that he will go into revolution. This thing would work out in the long run if it were one country, but it is all the European continent. The inter-reactions of one industry on another are broken up. The whole machine is disorganized; it won't work out in the long run, unless we help it work out.

Help Europe to Help Herself!

Europe must save itself. You cannot do it by charity, but we have got to get a little priming in the pump to get this thing started. I don't believe in charity for Europe—money charity. We have done a good deal of that. I do believe in a charity of mind toward

Europe. I am no longer critical of any "fool thing" that a European nation does. It is entitled to do fool things. They are in a state of mind, they are in a nervous tension and shaken morale, they are oppressed by the harassing situations; so why should they not grasp greedily for anything in this peace conference that would staunch their wounds? Let us be sympathetic with them, but I do not think we need to be charitable to the extent of trying to support them, because we cannot do it. That would only postpone the days of their trouble. They must go to work, and we must help put them to work. I think a group of nations that can furnish the things that Europe needs, should make an international loan to those countries, not of money—I would not put any money into those treasuries at present—but a loan of the credits that pay for the machinery, equipment for the railroads, raw material, sending it on time, having the payments secured by the very best security that they can give—and that means special security—and I would make this comprehensive attempt to re-start the industries. I think we could do it and I think Europe would start on towards a normal life.

Along with that duty is the greatest opportunity that ever came to a people. Why, we are the darling of the gods. No nation in all times was ever so placed, if civilization will really move on once more over there. Here we are, the reservoir of the world's capital, and at the same time the reservoir of raw materials. We can finance the world

and feed the world's industry with its raw material. There have been nations that were the financial reservoirs, but they were not also the reservoirs of raw material. The future that America has with its present opportunities is very great if the Old World goes on and does not go back—and never more hung on one word than on that word "if"—because it may not go forward. It is distinctly possible that it may not go forward, but it is up to us to do all that we can, and what will be asked will not be great. Remember, what I am prophesying is not something that runs into these astronomical figures that now constitute nations' finances. It is something that will be translated into goods with all the determining limiting factors of time to manufacture, of bottoms to transport. Even a billion dollars would lay down a tremendous amount of goods to get these factories started. It would ultimately need more, but, whatever it needs, it is still within a measure that we and some of the other nations who could supply in part what is wanted, could give, and I believe that that is the course that will save the day for Europe and will make a future beyond all estimate for ourselves.

We stand in a position to be of the greatest usefulness to the world, and if we are useful we need not worry about our recompense. If we hunt for opportunities of service, rewards will come. If America looks to her opportunities for service to a stricken world, her opportunities will be such as were never before measured in any country.



MR. VANDERLIP ADDRESSING A BOY SCOUT RALLY

FRANK ARTHUR VANDERLIP

BY GEORGE E. ROBERTS

THE editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS has asked me to write a sketch of the career of Frank Arthur Vanderlip, and I am glad to comply because it seems desirable that this story of individual success and achievement should be told at this time. We are passing through a period of excitement and social turmoil. The world has suffered the greatest catastrophe in history and needs that all its recuperative powers shall be brought into operation as quickly as possible. Unfortunately, a lot of misguided people think they see in this situation an opportunity to overthrow the existing order of society and substitute something radically different. Therefore, instead of coöperating to get the wheels of industry turning, they are using every effort to increase the disorder.

These persons lay all emphasis upon the inequalities which exist in society, assuming that the possessors of wealth have taken it away from others. Their remedy is to restrain and suppress the individual, holding down the man of exceptional energy and initiative. The doctrine is preached in the name of liberty, but the object is to curb individual ambition and freedom.

That there are necessary restrictions upon individual freedom in social relations is of course true, the rights of one person ending where they impinge upon the rights of others; but this rule does not apply to activities which, while beneficial to the individual, are also beneficial to society as a whole. Within this great field it is desirable that there shall be the freest possible play for individual ambition and energy, for it is by the initiative and development of its individual members that society advances.

The best proof of this is to be had by study of the careers of men who have been exceptionally successful in the business world, and in the case of Frank Vanderlip we have one of a boy rising from the ranks of the common people, by his own efforts, without adventitious circumstances, to a position of leadership and great power. It will be interesting to mark the distinguishing characteristics which have contributed to his suc-

cess, first as a boy and young man, a wage-earner, laying the foundations of his career, and later as a financial leader, directing large interests, and responsible for policies affecting the common welfare. Let us consider whether these characteristics are inimical to the common interest of the community. Did he win any stage of his advancement by acts that were harmful to fellow-workers or prejudicial to anyone? Has he climbed up by pulling or pushing anybody else down or have his efforts contributed to the general progress?

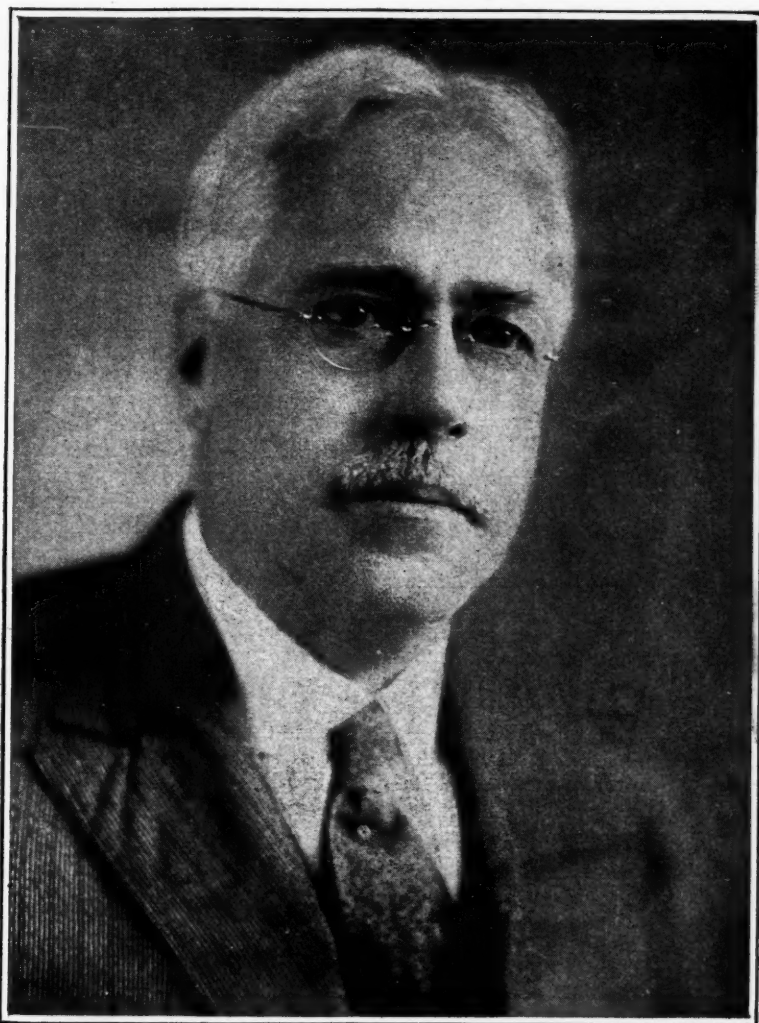
Early Life

Frank Vanderlip was born in Aurora, Illinois, fifty-four years ago. His father was a blacksmith by trade, but had become the superintendent of a wagon-factory. His health failed while Frank was a boy, and he bought a farm to which he moved his family. In 1878 he died, leaving a widow and three children; and of the latter Frank, then aged fourteen, was the oldest. The family remained on the farm another year, Frank working on the place and attending a country district school.

At this time occurred the first incident to be cited as displaying traits of character which marked him for success. He had the job of caring for a bunch of forty calves through one summer, for which he was promised and received one of the calves, and sold this calf for \$12. The *New York Tribune* was advertising to give a five years' subscription to the *Weekly Tribune*, together with a copy of Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, for \$12, and to this purpose the newly acquired wealth was devoted. Then, as at every later opportunity, when the choice was between immediate gratification and denial which enabled him to prepare for something better, he chose the latter.

Machine Shop and University

When he was 15 the family moved back into Aurora, and Frank went to work as an apprentice in a machine shop, tending a lathe. He wanted an education, but the



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MR. FRANK A. VANDERLIP, BANKER AND STUDENT OF FINANCE

(Mr. Vanderlip began his career as a financial writer for newspapers. In the McKinley Administration he was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. In 1901 he became Vice-President of the National City Bank of New York, and for the past ten years has been President of that institution. His recent observations in Europe are related on pages 41-49, immediately preceding this article. Princeton University has made Mr. Vanderlip a Doctor of Laws)

family income was too slender to finance it, and he set to work to prepare himself for college by night study, and to save the necessary capital out of his wage, which was 75 cents per day for ten hours. In a little over a year at this rate, living at home, he saved up \$225, and, having completed his preparatory studies, he entered the Freshman Class of the University of Illinois, at Champaign, in the year 1880-1881.

He got work in a machine shop in Champaign, at \$1.25 per day for Saturdays and

vacations, to eke out his savings, and in this way made them carry him about a year and a half. Then there was nothing to do but go back to work, and he returned to the machine shop in Aurora and completed his apprenticeship. He continued by night his studies in higher mathematics, and learned stenography, not that stenography was needed in the machine shop but by way of being ready for other possible opportunities. He worked in the shop until the end of 1883, when it closed down in a dull season

and he got his first job as a newspaper reporter on the *Aurora Post*.

Studying Finance

Meantime, however, he had formed what proved to be one of the valued friendships of his life, with Joseph French Johnson, now Dean of the New York University School of Commerce, who lived then in Aurora, and conducted "The Investors' Agency," a bureau of information upon investments, in Chicago. He soon went to the Agency as stenographer and assistant to Mr. Johnson, and when the latter went to the Chicago *Tribune* as its Financial Editor, the subject of our sketch, whom at the age of 20 we may now call Mr. Vanderlip, took charge of the Agency. In this work he obtained his first familiarity with corporation finance. He read widely to qualify himself for this work, and when Mr. Johnson left the *Tribune* in 1890 to found the *Spokane Statesman*, Mr. Vanderlip at the age of 26 succeeded him as Financial Editor of the *Tribune*.

The next chapter, from 1890 to 1897, is that of alert, enterprising, capable and indefatigable newspaper work, supplemented by a regular course of studies in economics at the University of Chicago, under Professors J. Laurence Laughlin and A. C. Miller, the latter now a member of the Federal Reserve Board. His newspaper work kept him up until midnight, but he was on hand for an 8:30 A. M. recitation at the University.

Distinction in Newspaper Work

The Yerkes régime in the street railway history of Chicago was then in full swing. It was a period when not much consideration was given to either the rights of the public or of minority stockholders, and a financial editor who would not take the trouble to pry very deeply into the affairs of the companies would have been highly appreciated by the management.

Young Vanderlip, however, had the ability and the will to go into their affairs, and with money from his own pocket he bought one share in each of the public utilities operating in the city, in order to have a stockholder's right to attend meetings and ask for information. Outside of the officials of the companies he became the best posted man in Chicago about the finances of the companies, and he used his knowledge for the benefit of the public. Here was exhibited a sense of responsibility to the public which he was serving.

At this time he formed the acquaintance of Lyman J. Gage, then President of the First National Bank of Chicago, and of the other bankers of the city, and their opinion of him was shown upon two occasions when emergencies developed in the financial situation. One of these was upon the failure of Moore Brothers, who occupied a very prominent position in Chicago. The bankers of the city held a night meeting at the home of Philip Armour to consider the situation before the news was made public. It was deemed necessary that the Chicago Stock Exchange should not be opened on the following morning. The effect of the news, if presented in a sensational manner, was feared, and, as a result of the conference, Frank Vanderlip was sent for. He undertook to handle the news, and prepared a statement, headlines and all, for each of the morning papers.

He then visited each newspaper office and informed the editor that he had a story which he would give upon the understanding that it would be published exactly as supplied, without additions. All but one used it upon the terms; one declined the terms and went to press without any account of the affair. The story gave all the essential facts, but without the sensational treatment which in time of surprise and excitement might have worked disaster to the banking situation.

Several years later, when the National Bank of Illinois, one of the leading institutions of the city, was found to be upon the point of failure, another midnight meeting was held, and again Vanderlip was sent for and the announcement confided to his discretion. It was handled successfully as before.

Goes to Washington

The announcement that Mr. Gage would be Secretary of the Treasury in President McKinley's Cabinet suggested a new thought to our financial writer, now 32 years old. He had left the Chicago *Tribune* the year before and bought a one-half interest in the Chicago *Economist*, a weekly financial journal, to get established in business on his own account. He was also editing the *Rand-McNally Bankers' Monthly*, and a couple of trade publications, working like a horse, as he always had done. The new idea was that he would like to attach himself to Mr. Gage, and spend a year in the Treasury, to broaden his knowledge of public finance.

He made the proposal to Mr. Gage and the latter made him private secretary, at a

salary of \$2500 per year. Here again was displayed his indifference to immediate results as compared with an opportunity to add to his equipment and knowledge and prepare himself for something better in the future. The earnings which he relinquished in Chicago were more than twice the salary which he accepted in Washington. However, without any expectation on his part, Secretary Gage soon asked the President to appoint him to the position of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, with a salary of \$4500 per year.

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury

As Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Mr. Vanderlip had the financial bureaus and the personnel of the Department under him. He stood for the merit system in the civil service against pressure for political patronage, and it was at his instance that the existing regulation was adopted providing that preliminary to dismissal a civil-service employee must be furnished with written charges and given an opportunity to make reply, the record being subject to review by the Civil Service Commission.

But he was for the merit system also in requiring honest service; he made a reputation as an organizer and disciplinarian throughout the Department. He did more to clear out dead wood and reform the routine methods than had been done since the Civil War. His energizing touch was felt in every division. Of course he had the confidence and support of Secretary Gage, and between the two there developed not only complete sympathy in purposes but a personal affection which on each side will endure while life shall last.

The two leading features of Secretary Gage's able administration of the Treasury were the Spanish-American war loan and the refunding operation conducted later, by which most of the Government's outstanding debt, bearing interest at 3 and 4 per cent., was converted into 2 per cents. The latter especially was an achievement doing credit to the Secretary's initiative and financial judgment, for there were many doubters in high circles as to its success. The feature of the Spanish War Loan was that it was placed by popular subscription and handled directly by the Treasury. Both of the undertakings involved a great amount of extra labor and supervision, and an extension of the organization of the Department; and the executive task at once devolved upon Mr. Vanderlip.



As financial editor of the
Chicago Daily Tribune

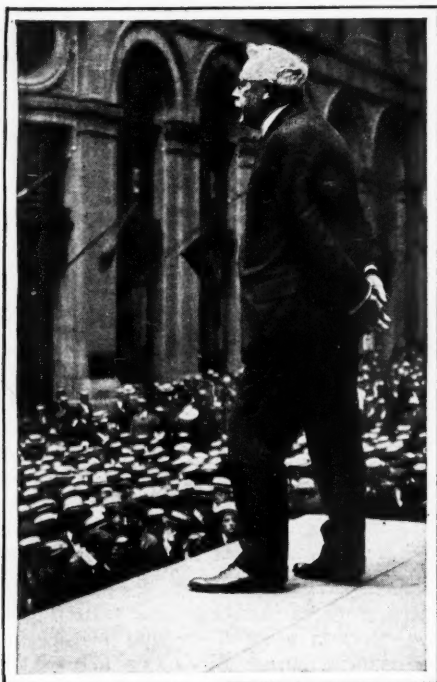
As Assistant Secretary of
the Treasury

MR. VANDERLIP AT TWO INTERESTING STAGES IN HIS
CAREER

Invited to the National City Bank of New York

His work in handling these matters and in connection with the regular business of the financial bureaus, including that of the Comptroller of the Currency, brought him in contact with bankers; and early in 1901 Mr. James Stillman, President of The National City Bank of New York, proposed that he resign from the Treasury and join the staff of that institution. He was ready to move on, and accepted, leaving Washington in March, with the understanding that he would enter the bank on July 1.

He had never been abroad. He wanted to know something, first-hand, about industry, banking, and social conditions in Europe. He made a rapid circuit which took him to the principal capitals and industrial centers in about three months. It was a very interesting time to go. The United States was in the full tide of the great industrial expansion which followed upon the settlement of the Free Silver agitation and the close of the war with Spain. It was the period of industrial reorganization and consolidation, when our industrial leaders were beginning to put into effect the lessons they had been learning in standardized mass production. Europe was startled by what this country was doing. For the first time America was appearing as a formidable competitor in world markets, and even in Europe. Moreover, we had had good crops while Europe had had light ones, so that our agricultural exports were very large, and altogether our



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York
MR. VANDERLIP, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL
COMMITTEE ON WAR SAVINGS, ADDRESSING A "WAR
STAMP RALLY"

trade balance reached proportions which to Europe seemed almost threatening.

Observations in Europe

Our traveler was well equipped and keen to observe European conditions. He knew machinery and industrial methods and the financial resources of this country, and was immensely interested in what he saw. Everywhere but in Germany he was impressed by the inferiority of industrial methods as compared with American methods, and particularly with the slavishness to routine and absence of the spirit of enterprise and improvement. Society, particularly in Eastern and Southern Europe, seemed to be at a standstill. Although population was increasing and making further demands on natural resources, there appeared to be no thought of improving the common welfare by increasing production. He said the greatest ingenuity was exercised in devising positions where the service performed was useless, and that that system seemed to be considered best which kept the most people employed.

The way his fresh, vigorous spirit reacted

to some of his experiences is illustrated by the following, from his writings on the trip:

Everywhere flunkeys stand ready to perform unnecessary services for one. You are not given an opportunity even to open the door—a retainer always stands ready to do it for you, and then hold out his hand. If you call at a bank or a public office, the concierge opens the door with great obsequiousness and hands you over to a guide, who shows you to the door of the room sought, where a flunkey takes your hat and coat, another your card, and still another ushers you in.

The street-sprinkling carts in Vienna make a good illustration. A hose about six feet long is attached to the rear of the car, and a rope about ten feet long is tied to the end of the hose. One man drives the cart while another walks behind holding the rope and swinging the hose from side to side. . . . That is the kind of Chinese economics which I heard from educated men in various cities on the Continent. It did not seem to occur to them that work makes work; that the amount of work which the world wants done and is ready to pay for is capable of indefinite increase, or that habits of slothful and unnecessary work must breed a people incapable of energy and enterprise. It takes two men to handle a plough in Europe, not because one man really cannot do it alone, but because public sentiment approves the employment of an extra man wherever the slightest excuse can be found for him.

His observations upon Europe were embodied in a little volume entitled "Commercial Invasion of Europe," and in numerous addresses and magazine articles.

Making His Way in New York

On July 15, 1901, he walked into The National City Bank of New York and took his seat at an empty desk. He had the title of Vice-President and a salary of \$10,000 per year, but it was up to him to create a place for himself. He knew the functions of a bank and had a good knowledge of banking theory, but had had no experience in banking methods or routine, and he was not there to displace anyone or take over any work already being performed. He was to use his head and find out something new that might be done that would be serviceable to the bank and its customers.

His experience in the Treasury and particularly his familiarity with Government bonds suggested the first line of effort. The bank was the New York correspondent of a large number of country banks over the country, and these banks were using Government bonds as security for their circulating notes, and buying and selling as suited their convenience. He started a department to give particular attention to this service

for correspondent banks, not only buying and selling the bonds as desired, but depositing them at the Treasury in compliance with law, receiving the bank notes, and acting as the full agent of the distant bank. In connection with this service he started the *Monthly Bank Letter*, or *Bulletin*, which at first was devoted mainly to Government bonds and the features of Government finance of especial interest to bankers.

He also began a series of pamphlet publications, handbooks related in one way or another to banking service, and intended to be useful to correspondent banks. He had numerous invitations to deliver public addresses, and some of the addresses were of notable character. One of these was at Wilmington, North Carolina, in September, 1903, when he reviewed the banking expansion which had taken place since the close of the Spanish War and gave a note of warning which instantly caught the attention of the country, and proved to be a correct analysis of the banking and industrial situation. It gave a distinct and useful check to a period of credit expansion which had run quite far enough. Four years later, when the boom was on again, but conditions were no more critical, an untoward development touched off the panic of 1907.

The service of correspondent banks became popular, and that class of business increased with The National City Bank. Then this Bond Department began to deal in other bonds, municipal and corporation issues, until gradually this developed into a large business and The National City Bank came eventually into the front rank in the bond field. A profitable adjunct had been added to the bank's business, and largely by adding a new service which was appreciated by the bank's patrons.

Mr. Stillman appreciated the development that was going on and gradually drew Mr. Vanderlip into a larger part in all the affairs of the bank, until it became an open secret that the former contemplated retirement and had fixed upon the latter as his successor. In 1909 Mr. Stillman carried out the plan he had contemplated for several years, and Mr. Vanderlip was elected to the presidency.

His Part in Banking Reform

Mr. Vanderlip fully understood the peculiar weakness of the American banking situation under the system, or lack of system, which existed prior to the passage of the

Federal Reserve Act. It was a system of individual banks, without cohesive strength or means by which the combined resources could be used effectively in times of emergency. It was not the fault of the bankers that from time to time panics swept over the country and they were obliged to suspend cash payments: it was due to the inadequacy of the system. A comparatively small number of bankers and economists understood the dangers of the situation and the remedy that was required. They labored for banking reform, but the inertia and conservatism of the great body of bankers, and of Congress, were too great to be overcome until the panic of 1907 furnished an object lesson which compelled attention.

Mr. Vanderlip had been one of the earnest advocates of banking reform. As Chairman of the Finance Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce, he reported early in 1907, before the panic, a set of resolutions urging banking reform and declaring in favor of the establishment of a Central Bank of Issue, along the lines of the Aldrich Plan afterward reported to the Senate by the National Monetary Commission.

Four years later, after the National Monetary Commission had been appointed and had made its tour of inquiry to European capitals, a few men distinguished by their interest in the subject met with Senator Aldrich at Jekyll Island, Georgia, to sketch the plan of a measure to be submitted for enactment. Besides Senator Aldrich, Chairman of the National Monetary Commission, and Dr. A. Piatt Andrew, Secretary of the Commission, there were present Paul Warburg, H. P. Davison and Frank A. Vanderlip. The Aldrich Plan took shape and the report was practically drafted at that meeting.

The Aldrich Plan did not become a law. The bitter division which existed in the Republican party at the time the report was submitted, and which resulted in the bolt at Chicago in the following summer, prevented action upon it and deprived the Republican party of the credit of instituting the reform. The essential principles, however, were adopted in the Federal Reserve Act, and no new principles of importance are contained in the Act. The Aldrich Plan provided for one corporate body, with fifteen branch offices over the country, each having a board of directors elected by the member banks of its territory, while the Federal Reserve System has twelve separate banking corporations. Originally, these reserve banks were intended

to be entirely independent of each other, and it was over this that much of the contention developed.

Developing the Federal Reserve System

Mr. Vanderlip urged that the system should be under such unified control that the banking resources of the entire country could be drawn upon for the support of any section of the country. Another feature of the Federal Reserve measure, to which he objected, was the provision that the circulating notes should be Government notes. This provision was not in the original bill as prepared by the Hon. Carter Glass, Chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee of the House of Representatives. The bill as introduced by him provided that the circulating notes should be the promises of the Reserve banks which issued them. It was found necessary, however, in order to obtain the support of an important element in the Administration party, which had a record for insisting upon Government currency, to make the change.

Of course the Federal Reserve notes are the obligations of the Reserve banks. The latter issue them in the regular course of their banking business and are required to redeem them; their assets are abundantly sufficient to redeem them, and no other provision for redemption is made. Mr. Vanderlip and economists generally objected to Government notes as unnecessary on the score of security, misleading as to the real responsibility for the notes, and as tending to confuse the public as to the natural functions of the Government and the banks. On the surface it was a compromise with Greenbackism, although the issues in reality are bank notes.

Mr. Vanderlip was invited to appear before the Senate Committee when hearings were held on the measure, and sustained himself effectually. He endorsed the general plan, and said it was 80 per cent. good, but urged the changes referred to. Naturally, most attention was given to the features in controversy, and some persons not familiar with the facts, and others who have no record showing any interest in banking or currency reform in all the years when the real struggle to develop sentiment for it was going on, have charged that he fought the Federal Reserve measure.

As a matter of fact the unity of control over the twelve Reserve banks was finally established by extending the authority of the Federal Reserve Board to the point of re-

quiring these banks to re-discount for each other. This creates a pipe-line connection between all the banks, and permits the flow of credit for which Mr. Vanderlip contended. Moreover, the connection has been found invaluable. The note feature had to stand. It does not affect the operations of the Reserve banks, and is objectionable solely because to uninformed minds it may seem to justify the Greenback theories.

The Beginning of American Branch Banking

The Federal Reserve Act, which became a law in December, 1913, contained a provision authorizing national banks to establish branches in foreign countries. Mr. Vanderlip had long been of the opinion that American banks should have this privilege, for the service they would be able to render American industry and business in foreign trade. Banking service is a necessary and important factor in foreign trade, and should extend unbroken from the exporter to the counting room of his foreign customer. Accordingly, as soon as the necessary formalities in both countries could be performed, the National City Bank of New York took steps to open a branch at Buenos Aires, which was done in September, 1914. A few months later another was opened in Montevideo, then three in Brazil, and so on. The results were encouraging, and the next step was the acquisition of the International Banking Corporation, which at the time had seventeen branches, mainly in Asia. This corporation is now owned practically in full by the National City Bank.

The corporation had been organized under a Connecticut charter to do foreign banking, before the national banks were authorized to enter the field. It had been only moderately successful, because it lacked the necessary intimate relationship with the business situation in this country, but as soon as it became related to the National City Bank this disadvantage was overcome and it became a valuable adjunct. Including the International Banking Corporation, the National City Bank of New York now has fifty-one branch offices in foreign countries.

Promotion of Foreign Trade

The object which the Congress had in view in authorizing the establishment of branch banks abroad was to afford facilities for the extension of American trade. That thought was uppermost also in the mind of

Mr. Vanderlip, and once the branches were established of course the development of American trade where they were located was an important and, indeed, necessary factor in their success. Accordingly, a Foreign Trade Department was established in the bank, with representatives in each of the branches whose duties consisted entirely in looking up opportunities for American exporters to do business. A careful study of credits also was instituted, that the American business man might have the same kind of information to guide him in foreign markets that he has at home.

Then came another development, in natural order. It was quickly apparent to the officers of the branches that a large amount of the best class of business in the countries where they were located was beyond their reach because it was controlled from Europe. The railroads and other large industrial corporations were generally owned in England or the countries of Western Europe, and their orders for equipment and supplies naturally went to the countries in which their head offices were located. That was so inevitable that Mr. Vanderlip promptly determined that the time had come for the United States to enter the foreign investment field to obtain an outlet for its industrial products. The outcome was the organization of the American International Corporation, with an authorized capital of \$50,000,000, of which \$40,000,000 is now paid up. This organization has become an important factor in forwarding American enterprise abroad. It has projects in hand at this time in South America, China and Europe, all of which will provide outlets for American machinery, materials and supplies. Mr. Vanderlip was the founder of this organization and is Chairman of the Board. The organization excited a great deal of interest in London, with the result that the British Foreign Trade Corporation was promptly organized upon the same plan with equal capital and the same avowed purposes.

Investment Banking

The National City Company is a bond-selling organization closely affiliated with the National City Bank, the stockholders being the same and with the stock held in the same proportions. It was originally formed to take over certain bonds and stocks which had been acquired by the bank and was not an active organization. In August, 1916, an opportunity was opened to Mr.

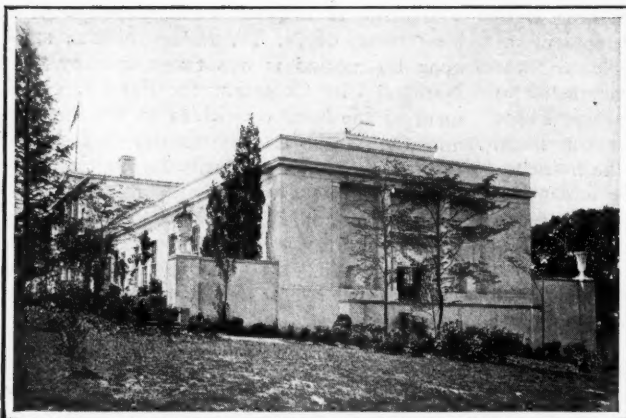
Vanderlip to acquire the well-established bond house of N. W. Halsey & Co., and upon his motion it was taken over by the National City Company, the Bond Department of the bank was added to the merger and the National City Company speedily became the largest security-distributing organization in the world, with over 600 employees and offices in thirty-five leading cities of this country, several in Europe and one in Japan. It goes directly to investors, seeking a broad market and aiming to cultivate thrift and to educate the great body of the people to a knowledge of sound investments, and to an appreciation of the public service rendered by constructive investments in the development of the country and the advancement of the common welfare. Its advertisements attract attention for this characteristic, and the amount of its average sales shows that its distribution is largely to investors of small and moderate incomes.

Education in Banking

One of the most noteworthy features of Mr. Vanderlip's administration has been the development of the bank's Educational Department. The rapid growth of the institution and the multiplication of its offices made a demand for staff material which was not easily met. Alert, capable young men were wanted, without ties which would prevent their going abroad, who had a good educational foundation, good character, some banking experience; in short, young men who had in them the promise of making good bankers. Picked men were wanted, and the problem was to find them. Mr. Vanderlip concluded that the way to get just what was wanted was to develop them in the bank, and the first step was to get the material.

He set up an Educational Department in the bank under trained directors, who mapped out courses of study and brought in teachers. The courses are very practical, being strong in economics, commercial geography, banking, modern languages, etc. In connection with their studies the young men were passed around through the departments of the bank to gain a knowledge of daily operations, and attended lectures given by the officers of the bank and experts and authorities from outside.

Since 1916 arrangements have been in effect with some thirty-five universities by which a limited number of students from each,



"SCARBORO SCHOOL," AT "BEECHWOOD," MR. VANDERLIP'S COUNTRY PLACE IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY, N. Y.

(Mr. Vanderlip has been greatly interested in the development of this school, which is most attractively housed, and in the various neighborhood activities which center there)

selected from the classes in economics, have been received each year into a special students' class, which was formed in July, following the college commencements. The privilege of entering this class was awarded as a scholarship by the college authorities, with the result that a fine group of young men has been gathered each year. About two hundred such recruits have entered the permanent service of the bank, and to-day are scattered over the world, fine representatives of America, eager and ambitious to serve their country at every opportunity that opens. Mr. Vanderlip has taken great personal interest in these classes, finding time, despite the endless demands upon him, to address them frequently. The thought always uppermost in these addresses was that of developing the service of the bank to the public. He endeavored to picture to the young men the coöperative character of business life and give them a large view of the useful part the bank should play.

Broadening the Service

He continually emphasized that the first thought should not be for profits but for the improvement of service—if the service was always broadening and improving, the profits would take care of themselves; it was not for the bank to serve grudgingly or wait for demands upon it; it should study to find new ways of serving the interests confided to its care and of promoting the common prosperity of the community, upon which at last the banking business depends for its own growth.

Growth of Business

Such have been the purposes and principal features of Mr. Vanderlip's ten years' administration of the affairs of the bank. It has been a period of great growth in the volume of business, to which, of course, various influences have contributed, among them notably the war, which has inflated bank deposits everywhere. When he entered the bank in 1901 the deposits were \$162,000,000; when he was elected President they were \$240,000,000, and at the date of the last statement to the Comptroller of the Currency, they were \$797,000,000, not

including \$50,000,000 held by the International Banking Corporation. That the enterprising and public-spirited policies followed had much to do with this growth does not need to be said. The deposits of the foreign offices by themselves are nearly equal to the total deposits in 1901.

At the beginning of this article it was stated that one of the reasons for writing it was to review the career of a successful man of affairs, examine the characteristics which were responsible for the success, and consider whether they were inimical to the progress and welfare of the community in general. The reader can judge for himself as to this career, but the characteristics which have made it successful never fail of that result, and, indeed, account for all real success. They are sometimes associated with other traits, not admirable, but in those instances it is not the latter but the former which win.

Two Views of Life

There are two general views of life and affairs. One looks out upon what appears to be a routine performance, with fixed and settled conditions, a given amount of work to be done, in the same manner, day after day; and a certain definite product to be divided; this is the class of people who want each person restricted to do no more work than anyone else and to have just the same pay as all the rest. These persons see no reason why the Government should not control and direct everything. They think there is nothing to do in running a railroad but

to run a given number of trains each way daily. On the other hand, there is the view which goes below the surface and sees the law of change and development, with the endless possibilities of improving the means of production and the conditions under which people live. The first view of the social order corresponds to the old idea of the physical universe, the other to the understanding of the universe which science has established, as charged with a principle of life and development. The first conception is that which has long dominated society in China, and which Mr. Vanderlip remarked in some parts of Europe; the other is characteristic of the United States and illustrated in Mr. Vanderlip's career.

Mr. Vanderlip said to a class one day that the best test of the soundness of a principle of action was to consider what the result would be if everybody adopted it. That test may be applied to the principles which have achieved his success. What would be the result if all wage-earners followed the example he set while he was a wage-earner and all employers and managers of business followed the example he has set as an employer and manager? Would there not be an enormous gain in the efficiency of society and in the output of the necessities and comforts of life? And if so much more of everything was produced, can there be any reasonable doubt that every individual would receive much more of these things than at present?

His Private Life

This article, which has already exceeded the space allotted to it, is devoted entirely to Mr. Vanderlip's business career. Of course that does not give a full picture of the man, and it seems a pity to close without at least a glimpse of another side. His interest in education, beginning with his own struggle for a college course, has been absorbing. It was one of the subjects to which he gave most attention on his trip to Europe, especially in Germany, and he has written much upon it. His action in installing the Educational Department in the bank was an expression of this interest, and it has developed again and in quite a remarkable way in the education of his children. Beginning with tutors for them and inviting in the neighborhood children, he gradually developed the "Scarboro School," on his home place in the country. It is now beautifully housed and thoroughly equipped, with nineteen instruc-



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

A SNAPSHOT OF MR. AND MRS. VANDERLIP AT
"BEECHWOOD," SCARBORO-ON-THE-HUDSON

tors and 150 pupils, undoubtedly one of the best private schools in the country. He has done this not merely to provide special instruction for his children but to develop his own constructive ideas about education, hoping to accomplish something of general value. Nothing that he has been doing in these busy years has interested him more than the development of this school. It has been his recreation and hobby, and his indulgence extends to the delivery of weekly lectures on economics, the series of which it is to be hoped will some day see publicity.

It ought to be added that Scarboro School is headquarters for all kinds of neighborhood activities, such as the Community Chorus, Beechwood Dramatic Club, Recreation Club, Poetry Club, etc., etc. The Beechwood Play House, which is a part of the Schoolhouse, and the Vanderlip home, are the center of a quiet, delightful community life.

Nor would it be fitting to close this sketch without mention of what Mr. Vanderlip cherishes most, his family. His early life, and the family obligations which he gladly assumed, did not give him much opportunity for social life, and he was not married until 1903. His bride was Miss Narcissa Cox, of Chicago, and their home life has been ideal. She enters sympathetically into all his plans, but has her own plans and activities, which are chiefly along the lines of social welfare and amelioration.

The children, three boys and three girls, are all that parents could desire, live normal, wholesome lives, and if they do not make good men and women there must be much less in home conditions than we all believe. Mr. Vanderlip, as is well known, was profoundly impressed by what he saw during his recent trip to Europe of conditions existing there, and during the passage home felt prompted to dictate the material for a little volume conveying a message which it was on his heart to deliver to the American public. The dedication of the book is as follows:

This book is dedicated to my six children, with the hope that they and their generation will grow up possessed of an abundant sympathy with their fellows and a sufficient knowledge of economic law to enable them to make a liberal and wise contribution of service to society.



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SOME OF THE ONE THOUSAND WESTCHESTER COUNTY CHILDREN RECENTLY ENTERTAINED AT "BEECHWOOD"
THE HOME OF MR. AND MRS. F. A. VANDERLIP

THE RAILWAY PROBLEM

BY HON. ALBERT B. CUMMINS

(Chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce)

[Senator Cummins has long been one of our foremost authorities upon the problems of transportation service and control. He was eminent as a legal authority in this field before he became for three consecutive terms Governor of the State of Iowa. In the United States Senate for many years past he has had a leading part in the treatment of all questions having to do with interstate commerce and corporations. At the present time, as the new Republican Chairman of the Senate's Interstate Commerce Committee, he will have an exceptionally influential part in the decisions that are to be made by Congress regarding the future of our railroads before the vast system is returned from Government control to private management on the first day of next January in accordance with President Wilson's recent announcement.—THE EDITOR.]

IT is generally understood throughout the country that the readjustment of the plan we have heretofore adopted for the regulation and control of railway transportation must be radical and thorough-going if it is to be of value. In this respect the public estimate is correct. It is, however, I think, believed by a great number of people that the war and the consequent possession and operation of the railways by the Government are the disturbing causes which make the readjustment necessary. In this respect, I venture to say, public opinion is in error. Undoubtedly, the unusual movement of traffic required by the war and the disorganization which necessarily accompanied Government operation demand some legislation of a steady character upon the return of the properties to their owners, but, if there were no other difficulties in the way, the return would be a simple matter, and the legislation accompanying it would be easily accomplished.

Recent Investigations

The real trouble with which we find ourselves confronted has no connection with the war, and has existed ever since the Government in 1887 began the attempt to control and regulate the maximum charges for the service which common carriers render to the public. It has grown with our development and it became so intense and obvious four years ago that a joint committee of Congress was created to consider it and bring forward, if possible, another plan more just, equitable and effective. This committee, of which the late Senator Francis G. Newlands was chairman, inquired into the subject with great

care, conducted the most exhaustive hearings and was just preparing its final survey when the President assumed possession of our main transportation systems and began their operation as a war measure.

A year later, Mr. McAdoo, Director General of Railroads, proposed an extension of Government operation, under the act of March, 1918, for a period of five years. The investigation was then resumed by the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce and again full hearings were had and the most competent men in the country submitted to the committee not only their views in an abstract way but many and varied concrete proposals with regard to the legislation which should be adopted before the railway properties were re-transferred for operation to their respective owners. It is therefore probable that Congress has before it substantially all the information material for a final conclusion.

Powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission

The first and most important question in the whole matter is this: Why is it that the Interstate Commerce Commission with full authority to fix such rates for the service of transportation as will be at once fair to the public and to the railway companies cannot successfully perform its task? Why is it that the Commission cannot establish rates for all the railways which will enable them to sustain the cost of maintenance and operation and to make a reasonable return to the owners of railway securities upon the value of the property which renders the public service?

The Commission is composed of high-minded, intelligent men, fully alive to their duties and skilled by long experience, and whatever men can do they are quite able to do. If under the plan of regulation and control as it is and under conditions as they exist and as they have long existed, the Commission can do this thing there is no railroad problem and all that needs to be done is to pay the loss incurred while the properties have been in Government operation, return them to their owners, and once for all have an end of it.

Rates Adequate for One Carrier Not Sufficient for Another

The truth is, however, that there is an inherent and fatal defect in our system of regulation and control, and until it has been changed by legislation and there is complete reorganization it is no more possible to fix reasonable rates for the carrying of passengers and freight for all the railways of the country than it would be to fix a reasonable price for coal as between two producers for one of whom the cost of production is three dollars per ton and for the other one dollar per ton.

The large proportion of the traffic of the country is competitive in its character, and the railways which share it must carry it at the same rate. By reason of the widely different conditions under which it must be done, there is a tremendous spread in the cost of transportation to the several carriers, which renders our attempts abortive. The rates which will enable one company to maintain and operate its property, give it a sufficient credit for enlargements and betterments and pay a full, adequate return to capital upon the value of its property, fail utterly to do these things for another company equally well managed.

The less fortunately circumstanced roads which I have in mind in the last statement comprise probably 40 per cent. of the railway mileage of the country and carry 25 or 30 per cent. of the traffic. It must be plain that our permanent policy should be one that will maintain these roads, for it is unthinkable that they shall be abandoned and a large part of the United States left without railway service. It is equally unthinkable that the rates shall be advanced so as to meet their requirements, for to do so would give to the railways which carry 75 per cent. of the traffic operating revenues so excessive that they would not be tolerated for a day.

Actual Operating Income

In order that the casual reader may grasp this situation which has hitherto been comprehended by a comparatively few students of the subject, it may be helpful to suggest some illustrations which anyone may gather from the reports annually made by the railway companies to the Interstate Commerce Commission. I will confine these illustrations to what are known as Class One railroads; that is, railroads whose annual gross revenues from operation exceed \$1,000,000. There are about 162 of these roads, and, of course, they comprise the stronger systems. If I were to consider the 700 and more roads with annual revenues less than \$1,000,000, the comparison would be still more startling.

The three years, 1915, 1916 and 1917, were, taken together, the three most profitable years ever known in the history of railway operation. The average net operating income, and by that term I mean the income from operation less all the cost of maintenance and operation and after deducting all taxes, for the Class One roads for three years was about \$900,000,000. Their net-operating income for 1917, computed on the same basis, was, in round numbers, \$1,000,000,000. This was the sum which these roads had at the end of the year applicable to the payment of interest, dividends upon stock, permanent investment in property, or to pass into surplus.

Ratio of Income to Capitalization

We do not know just what the value of all the railway properties of the United States is, but for the moment I assume that they are in the aggregate worth their entire capitalization (excluding duplication) substantially \$17,000,000,000. The average of the three years mentioned would pay 5.3 per cent. upon the whole capitalization, and the earnings for 1917 would pay 5.9 per cent. When it is remembered that three-fifths of the capitalization is represented in bonds which bear an average rate of interest of about $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. it is at once seen that upon two-fifths of the capitalization represented in stock the income taking the average of the three years, would pay more than 6 per cent., and taking the last year, more than 7 per cent.

There can be no just complaint against the adequacy of this compensation for capital when we consider the railways as a whole. Our difficulty arises when it comes to the

distribution of the aggregate income. Some roads received a great deal more than was fair, other roads a great deal less than was fair; and, unless we can find some way to equalize these conditions, one of two things must happen: Either the people will be compelled to pay excessive rates for transportation or these weak roads must be abandoned to their fate.

Percentage on Property Investment Account

I present another comparison: Again limiting myself to Class One railroads, which, I may say, comprise about 90 per cent. of the railway mileage and carry about 96 per cent. of the traffic of the country; in this comparison I take, instead of the capitalization, what is known as the property investment account, which, although not at all accurate as a showing of the actual investment, is fairly accurate for the purpose for which I use it. Its total is a little more than \$19,000,000,000.

In the Eastern District there are sixty-seven roads or systems. The average net operating income, for the three years preceding the war, of seventeen of them ranged from 6 to 15 per cent. upon the investment account; of twenty-six of them from 4 to 6 per cent.; of sixteen of them from 2 to 4 per cent. and of eight of them less than 2 per cent.

In the Southern District there are thirty-two roads or systems. Four of them earned more than 7 per cent. upon the investment account; seven of them earned less than 3 per cent., and the earnings of the remainder were between the two extremes.

In the Western District there are sixty-three roads or systems. Thirteen of them had a net operating income of more than 6 per cent. upon the investment account; twenty-five of them less than 3 per cent.; twenty of them less than 2 per cent., with the remainder between the high and the low earning power.

The Chicago & Northwestern and the Chicago Great Western railways are competitive. The average net operating income of the former for the period I have named was 6.13 per cent. upon its property investment account, while for the latter it was 1.77 per cent. It requires no argument or elaboration to convince anyone that the Chicago Great Western Company cannot perform its duty to the public and survive under such conditions.

The average net operating income of the

Union Pacific for the period named was .672 per cent. upon its investment account. Upon the Western Pacific it was 2.28 per cent.

For the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy it was 7.02 per cent., while for the Chicago & Alton it was 2.64 per cent.

For the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé it was 6.16 per cent. and for the Colorado Midland it was .02 of one per cent.

The Pennsylvania Company, with an investment account of \$236,500,000, had an average net operating income of 6.26 per cent.

The Pennsylvania Railroad, with an investment account of \$846,800,000, had an average net operating income of 5.36 per cent.

The New York Central, with an investment account of \$919,500,000, had an average net operating income of 6.09 per cent.

The Central Railroad of New Jersey, with an investment account of \$132,700,000, had an average net operating income of 7.05 per cent.

The Baltimore & Ohio, with an investment account of \$547,800,000, had an average net operating income of 4.67 per cent.

The Erie, with an investment account of \$472,500,000, had an average net operating income of 3.56 per cent.

The Chicago & Eastern Illinois, with an investment account of \$80,700,000, had an average net operating income of 3.60 per cent.

The Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton, with an investment account of \$55,200,000, had an average net operating income of 1.95 per cent.

The New York, Chicago & St. Louis, with an investment account of \$67,000,000, had an average net operating income of 3.19 per cent.

The Wabash, with an investment account of \$200,000,000, had an average net operating income of 2.91 per cent.

The Western Maryland, with an investment account of \$119,700,000, had an average net operating income of 2.58 per cent.; and the Wheeling & Lake Erie, with an investment account of \$69,600,000, had an average net operating income of 2.30 per cent.

The average of the entire Eastern district was 5.21 per cent.; the highest percentage being 14.67 per cent., and the lowest .02 of one per cent.

*Group Consolidations, Preserving
Competition*

For the problem I have outlined, there is but one solution. There must be a series of consolidations which will merge weak roads with strong ones, to the end that the resulting systems, and they will be comparatively few in number, may do business upon substantially even terms. When this is done the test of reasonable rates will be their effect in producing revenue for the system as a whole, and a minimum increase will accomplish the purpose. In many instances no increase would be required, because the surplus of the favorably situated properties in a given system would make the revenue of the whole system adequate.

It has seemed to me, therefore, that the first principle to be accepted in the reorganization toward which we are looking must be the consolidation of our railways into eighteen or twenty systems, under the initiative and direction of the Government. Not regional systems, for, in my judgment, that would be a sad mistake. Within proper bounds, the rivalry of service is of the utmost value, and the view I have suggested contemplates the preservation of existing competition in every part of the country, and practically in every community.

I do not dwell upon the details through which this plan can be put into operation. It is sufficient to say that it is entirely feasible and can be worked out in several ways with perfect justice to all the interests that may be involved. I am concerned mainly in the principle; but I incline toward a series of Federal incorporations for the ultimate ownership and operation of the several systems.

A Government Guaranty of Interest

The second principle toward which I have been drawn, slowly and reluctantly, but surely, is a Government guaranty, in some form, of a return upon the capital invested in railways. My reason for this position is not that capital so invested should be favored, but because we are now practically guaranteeing the return and are not securing the low rate of return which a direct Government undertaking should and would command.

Taking the railway properties together, the people have, for years and years, been paying a capital charge far in excess of a reasonable rate of interest upon a Government obligation.

As I have already said, the average net operating income of the Class I roads for the years 1915, 1916, and 1917, was more than nine hundred millions of dollars, and this, it will be observed does not include corporate income from other sources than operation. This vast amount was available, if the companies had chosen so to use it, for the payment of interest upon current and funded indebtedness and dividends upon capital stock.

In 1917 railway bonds aggregated at par a little more than eleven billions of dollars, and railway stock at par, eliminating duplications, a little more than six billions of dollars. The average rate of interest upon the bonds is a trifle in excess of $4\frac{1}{4}$ per centum; so that after paying interest the roads, considered together, had something like four hundred and thirty-five millions of dollars with which to make return in some form or other upon the six billions of stock, which means 7 per centum upon the entire volume of railway stocks, reckoned at their par value.

If a Government guaranty, in normal times, can command capital at 4 per cent., and if it were granted that the railway properties of the country equalled in value their entire capitalization, the people would save two hundred and twenty millions of dollars annually by making the return certain and taking the benefits to which the guaranty would justly entitle them.

This, however, is not the complete story, so far as the future is concerned. The railways claim, and the decisions of the Supreme Court furnish a fair basis for the contention, that under the present law they may demand rates which will enable them to earn a net income of 7, 8, or 9 per centum upon the entire value of the properties which render the service. If this rule is established, the people will be paying upon the properties just as they are, without additions or extensions or increase in capital account, a capital charge of more than one billion two hundred millions of dollars per year.

It is my deliberate judgment that it will be far better for capital to accept a low guaranteed return, and I know that it will be infinitely better for the people to give the guaranty, for it cannot by any possibility increase their burdens, and it opens to them the only possible path toward a reduction in the charge for capital and a decrease in the enormous rates they are now paying for transportation. Furthermore, it is the only

method which assures the growth in facilities necessary to meet our rapidly developing commerce.

There is another consideration which has strongly influenced me in reaching the conclusion I have just stated. The conflict between railway promoters, railway managers, railway security-holders, making up what is commonly known as railway corporations, and the public, which has been in progress for more than forty years, and which has been carried on in conventions, elections, courts, congresses, and legislatures, has been the most corrupting, degrading and demoralizing element in our history. It has been passionate, relentless and cruel.

Whatever may have been the merits of the controversy at different times, it can be confidently asserted that the struggle has not resulted in that degree of justice which ought to prevail. It is high time that it should be brought to a close and the whole subject forever disposed of in a way that will at once secure to the capital invested in a public business its just reward, and protect the people against the unreasonable demand for speculative profit in the performance of a public service.

Valuation of Railroad Properties Necessary

Let no one imagine that I am advocating a guaranty of return upon railway securities without regard to the value of the property upon which the securities are based. Neither the railway corporation nor the owner of its securities should receive more than a fair return upon the value of the property itself.

Using a former illustration again, it would not only be unjust, but absurd for the Government to guarantee upon the same basis a return upon the securities of the Chicago & Northwestern Railroad, capitalized at \$46,000 per mile, and the securities of the Chicago Great Western Railroad, capitalized at \$77,000 per mile.

Any plan of reorganization or adjustment involves a valuation of the railway properties, either by an impartial tribunal or by agreement. The former is a long, tedious, and somewhat uncertain process, but if necessary it can and must be done. Personally, I believe that a body of fair-minded men, representing the Government and the railroads, can in the great majority of cases agree upon values, and thus avoid the vexation and delay incident to courts and commissions.

We have now well-nigh complete inven-

tories of the physical property. We have the market values of the securities over a long period of time. We have, or can easily ascertain, the price at which nearly all security holders have made their investments. We have the earning power of the several railroads. With all these items of information I know that we can reach a result that will preserve the interests of the bona fide investor, and usher in an era of peace and quiet such as we have never before enjoyed.

I am quite aware that I am proposing a big thing, but that does not disturb me. The United States has fallen into the habit of doing big things in a big way, and when our people make up their minds to do this particular thing they will do it so quickly and so easily that our present timidity will amaze the coming generation.

Roads Should Be Privately Operated

I go forward to another and final principle in the solution of the railway problem. I believe that the railways should be operated by private corporations rather than by the Government. I emphasize now and at all times the distinction between Government ownership and Government operation. I understand perfectly that when the Government undertakes that the return upon the capital invested shall be certain; that is, guarantees the return, whether by legislative assurance or by explicit obligation, it may be well termed the equivalent of Government ownership.

The truth is that under the existing law there is only nominal private ownership, for it is obvious that when public authority determines the revenues which railroads shall earn, how they shall expend the money which they earn, and most minutely prescribes the manner which the business of transportation shall be conducted, the technical ownership of the corporation has none of the essential characteristics of private property.

I ought to say further, in order that there may be no misunderstanding, that I look upon transportation as a Governmental function. I believe that the Government is charged with the duty of providing the people with adequate transportation at the lowest possible cost, just as it is charged with the duty of providing them with adequate highways, adequate water supply, adequate courts of justice, or adequate police protection. Whether the Government can best perform this function through the ownership

and operation of railroads or through the instrumentality of private corporations, under public control, is entirely a matter of sound judgment and wise discretion.

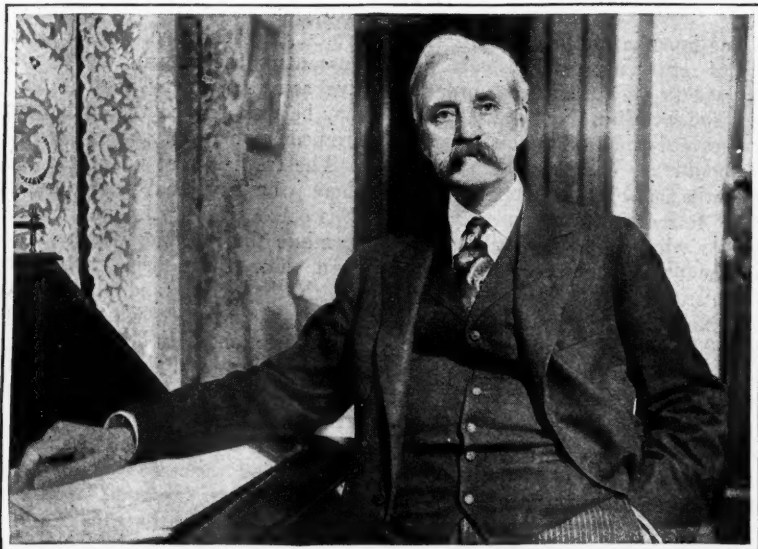
It is recognized by every country in the world that Government ownership and operation of railroads is a proper Governmental activity, and if a particular Government selects the agency of a private corporation through which to accomplish its purpose, it is solely because the commerce of that country can be better served through such agency. Therefore the suggestion that the guaranty which I have proposed is in many respects the equivalent of Government ownership does not alarm me; but again I challenge attention to the clear difference between Government ownership and Government operation.

Public Operation Neither Economical Nor Efficient

I advocate the operation of our railways through private corporations under the strictest control for one reason, and for one reason

only. The Government cannot operate the railroads either economically or efficiently. It is not possible at this time to examine the experience of other countries. I can only say that it is not reassuring, but if there be different minds about that I feel sure that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country have reached the conclusion that their Government cannot take seventeen billions of railway property, rendering a service which reaches every nook and corner of the land, employing two millions of men or more, and directly affecting the fortunes of many other millions, and operate it without immense waste and tremendous extravagance.

It costs the Government more to do any given thing in a country like ours, where every man is a sovereign, than it costs anybody else to do the same thing. The history of every enterprise of a business character conducted by the Government proves that organized society in its management of industrial affairs can neither practise economy nor attain efficiency.



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SENATOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS, OF IOWA

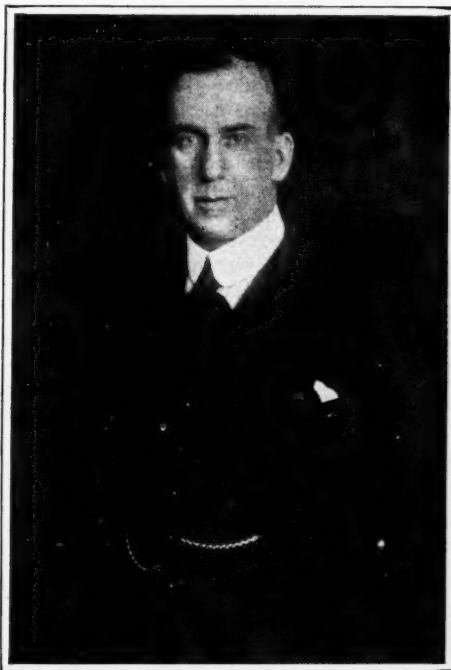
IS ENGLAND'S FRIENDSHIP WORTH WHILE?

BY FRANK DILNOT

[Among the able representatives of international journalism in this war period, Mr. Frank Dilnot is deservedly conspicuous. He has been in the United States as correspondent of the London *Daily Chronicle*, and has worked constantly to give England a true appreciation of the American spirit and American effort. He has been well supported by representatives of the other leading British papers, and he has served as President of the Association of Foreign Correspondents in America of the press of the Allied countries. Last year, in our July number, Mr. P. W. Wilson, correspondent of the London *Daily News*, at the height of the war movement, wrote for this magazine an admirable article upon the essential unity of the English-speaking peoples. Mr. Dilnot's contribution, at this time, when London is again celebrating the Fourth of July, is especially welcome.—THE EDITOR.]

IF one asked any of the smaller nations like Portugal, Denmark, or Switzerland whether they put a value on Britain's goodwill and help the answer would necessarily be given in a different frame of mind from that of the United States when confronted with the same question. The friendship of the powerful is always a matter of congratulation to the weak, and this applies to nations as well as to individuals. But a different set of conditions comes into view immediately when the inquiry is put in its bald form before a country like America. This is a country which has within its continuous boundaries a population of well over a hundred millions. Its wealth, real and potential, is almost incalculable. The extent of its territory, continental in scope and variety, affords self-support not only in food but in all the essentials of manufacturing and of trade. Moreover physical isolation from the old countries gives an independence of ideals and policy both domestic and foreign. No necessities within the border of the United States make any obvious call for coöperation with other nations and indeed there is considerable ground for the argument that, so far as her material interests are concerned, this country is much better off if not too closely associated with any other nation whatever.

With England, it is true, America has at least one unshakable bond, that of language. But only the blindly enthusiastic would deny that there are also many factors in a continuing division between the two countries—factors which curiously enough do not exist in the relations between America and any other country. Notwithstanding a growing



MR. FRANK DILNOT

friendliness to Britain amid powerful sections of the American people, there remain wide areas of indifference and in some quarters covert or open hostility. Not yet eliminated is the memory of the War of Independence with the lessons which it inculcated, and the traditions which have been perpetuated through the school books.

It is all very well to say all trace of suspicious feeling towards Britain has been wiped away. As a matter of fact it has not.

One says this of course with the full knowledge that suspicion has been much lessened by the war. At the same time in this world of practical things it would be folly to assume that all memory of the past has disappeared. The hostility to Britain that remains is continually fanned by the Irish here—or, to be more precise, by Americans of Irish descent—who wish to see Ireland separated from Britain. For good or evil they have a considerable influence over wide stretches of the population. There is still one further matter which has to be taken into account. In day-by-day habits of life Britain and America are in many directions far apart—a fact which reacts among those who are already not free from the touch of dissatisfaction. Perhaps to some of the arm-chair philosophers it does not seem very important that there are differences in the habits and amenities of everyday life; in actuality they have a good deal to do with the feeling for or against a foreign nation. The very fact that the British and American language is the same accentuates instead of ameliorating the prevailing differences.

The position and power of the United States and the mood of many of its people are certainly considerations which have to be reckoned with in dealing with the question as to whether it is to the interest of this country to pursue a policy of active friendliness and possibly of coöperation with the British Empire. What is America to get out of it in happiness or material prosperity? It seems to me there would be striking advantages in both directions:

(1) With all their differences, some of them real, some of them artificial, Americans and Britons are nearer in fundamentals and in temperament than any other two nations. They have the same basis in law, morals, social ideals, and forms of religion. The general impulse of the common people in the two countries is similar if not identical. They can by working in unison secure the strength which comes from joint effort and propagate not only the material welfare of the two peoples but also the standards of international behavior. There would be no "Imperialism" that mattered if Britain and America were working solidly together.

(2) While America would be able to avoid what she would regard as the pernicious influences of caste and snobbery from Britain, she would inevitably draw to herself more and more a supply of the better influences from the old country and enlarge

her own life. Educationalists, leaders, artists, reformers, the professors from the universities, the religious leaders and the protagonists in a dozen spheres of life, would look upon America as a field of action and a home second only to their native shores. Of course much benefit would flow to Britain from the virility and mental courage and new visions of the United States. Meanwhile it cannot be doubted that America would find herself the richer in many of the possessions which she values perhaps higher than any other nation. The emergency of the war has drawn to the United States intellectuals and men of action on special missions. They came for the mutual help of the Allies.

Those who met them must have realized that the presence of such men had a stimulating value in a community. I recall among such individuals, the Bishop of Oxford, Lord Reading, Sir Johnston Forbes Robertson, Mr. Balfour, Mr. J. H. Thomas, the Archbishop of York, and Mr. John Masefield. There were dozens of others, including captains of industry and university leaders. They will take back to the best circles in England a new knowledge of America. They left a message here. The feeling that there were openings in the illimitable field of America for the best that Britain produces could not fail to add to the depth and breadth of life in the United States.

(3) There is no end of the talk about world trade to follow the war. It is obvious there must be no suggestion of exclusive arrangements between the two great countries such as America and Britain which would in any way penalize the other nations of the earth. But these other nations would be helped and not injured by the freest and friendliest coöperation of the two powers who between them, by means of their manufacturing facilities, their national products, and their means of transportation, have the practical command of the world's market. America as a continent has resources which will make her, in a large part, the supply depot of the world. Britain has her market ramifications in practically every land, and her Dominions scattered across the oceans are themselves markets of vast possibilities.

Everywhere the British flag floats the English language, the language of America, is spoken. Ready-made the English-speaking world is at the service of America if she likes to use it. Not exhausted by the war, with unparalleled supplies of all kinds of articles

which the world needs for its sustenance, America has commercial possibilities hitherto unthought of. Friendly coöperation with Britain would quickly materialize those opportunities. It will be of enormous advantage to America to get foreign trade, but it will also be an advantage to the rest of the world which will be securing produce and merchandise urgently needed. America and Britain between them possess the ships. America has the goods. Britain has a network of commercial stations all over the globe. Is it not obvious, prejudices aside, that America would give herself new and swift scope by friendly work with the other great nation which speaks her language?

(4) The League of Nations as a preventive of war is uppermost in the minds of all people on both sides of the Atlantic. Opinion is divided as to the efficacy of the League, although there is a broad general agreement that even in its modified form it will serve at least to retard war and in that very fact, often enough, to prevent it. The backbone of the League, it cannot be doubted, is the association of Britain and America. It is their power on the one hand and their antagonism to militaristic ideals on the other which is the hope of the world. But while all the countries look to them as the shield of peace they are above all things necessary to each other's safety. It can be said with certainty that no country in the future, nor any group of countries, would make an attack on either America or Britain if it were known that their friendly association would lead automatically in time of danger to union for defensive purposes.

Why blink the fact that the influence of the United States, direct or indirect, extends over the whole of the two continents of North and South America? Britain's dominions are far flung in other directions. Goodness knows the people of Britain do not want any more territory. They are, moreover, strenuously opposed to war. They want above all things to see it abolished. America preëminently among the nations has nothing to gain by war. The American people have, however, to look to the safety of their successors in the generations to come. America and Britain do not comprise the whole earth. But they do comprise enough of it to secure by mutual effort the safety of themselves for all time, and not only the safety of themselves but the safety of all other nations.

(5) I was for three years the editor of

the *Daily Citizen*, the organ of the labor movement in Britain, and know the psychology of the leaders and the rank and file and the general trend of impulse in the labor movement. During my two and a half years' residence in this country I have studied with interest the labor movement here. It is somewhat different in texture from that in England and its immediate needs are not exactly the same. The United States is a continent with immense prosperity, immense opportunities within its boundaries. Here there has not been experienced the three-quarters of a century of fighting against over-pressing conditions arising from a congested and competitive population in a country which lives on its industrial operations. But all the same there is a similar general tendency and instinct here among those who might call themselves the labor movement—not merely the industrial and agricultural workers and their leaders, but the forward-moving humanitarian thinkers. There is a general upward striving against selfish capitalism, against individual aggrandizement at the expense of the community.

The British labor movement is by far the most powerful in the world. Its policies and methods are continually urged in America as providing lessons worthy of study and adaptation. As time goes on the virility and initiative of America will undoubtedly make this country the leader in what may be called the social reform program of the world. (At the present moment, for example, it blazes a trail by its prohibition measure.) As one who has been intimately associated with the labor movement I can see the practical help which America might derive in the intermediate processes from the tangled experiences, the bitter and unceasing fights and the achievements of the labor movement in England. In the future, too, it will be not only the methods and immediate objectives which would provide a medium for mutual consultations and decisions, but higher and wider considerations affecting the workers generally in all countries. A hint of the possibilities is already forthcoming in the suggestion at Paris to include in the peace arrangements terms respecting labor.

It is these reasons principally which lead me to suggest that in spite of superficial differences a working friendship with Britain will be worth while to America. It will be valuable to Britain. It is hard to avoid the inclusion that it will be a boon to the world.

MAKING AMERICA OVER

BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE

(Author of "The Conquest of Arid America" and "Constructive Democracy")

IT has been well said that God never makes a world, but only starts one and depends on man to finish it up. In this work of co-creation—of conscious partnership with the Universe—the men of the Western deserts led the way. The American reclamation movement was their vehicle, and the United States Reclamation Service is the organized instrumentality with which they are converting nature's raw materials into the finished product of civilization.

It happened that the REVIEW OF REVIEWS was the first publication of national circulation and influence to offer them a platform. This was more than a quarter of a century ago (October, 1893). Since that date much history has been made, while infinitely more is in the making. For now we are to reclaim the overflow lands, the cut-over areas and the abandoned farms of the East and South, even as we redeemed the deserts of the West.

We are, in a word, to recognize the unfitness of America in its natural state, or in the state to which it has been brought by two or three centuries of wasteful use, to meet the needs of its growing population and its unimaginable future, and then, in the high spirit of co-creation, we are to make America over,—patiently, laboriously, but scientifically and magnificently, and to the end that in all this land there shall be in time to come neither a homeless man nor a hungry child.

Secretary Lane and the Soldier

We owe much to the great war—among other things, this new impulse of the reclamation spirit which has now burst the bounds of its sectionalism and suddenly become nationalized, so that it is as easy to crowd Faneuil Hall or Cooper Union as it was the big auditoriums of Denver or Salt Lake or Los Angeles twenty-five years ago. The soldier and his need, the soldier and the immeasurable obligation now due him from the Republic—it is he who is to lead us into this greatest task of the reconstruction era.

And it was the mind of Secretary Lane that first discerned the need and the way to meet it. In a letter that will be historic, addressed to the President and members of Congress, under date of May 31, 1918, the Secretary said:

Every country has found itself face to face with this situation at the close of a great war. From Rome under Cæsar to France under Napoleon, down even to our own Civil War, the problem arose as to what could be done with the soldiers to be mustered out of military service.

He told how the veterans of the Revolution had crossed the Alleghanies; how the veterans of the Civil War had peopled the public lands beyond the Mississippi, and said that while we no longer possessed a great patrimony of free public land fit for cultivation, "we have arid lands in the West, cut-over lands in the Northwest, Lake States, and South, and also swamp lands in the Middle West and South, which can be made available through the proper development."

Congress gave him an appropriation of \$100,000 for preliminary investigations. He promptly set in motion the efficient machinery of the United States Reclamation Service, supplementing its officers with other eminent engineers, and summoned men of social vision who have given their lives to the study of institutions on the soil, at home and abroad. Among others, he called the great American, Dr. Elwood Mead, who began his public career by writing and administering the model irrigation laws of Wyoming, then extended his influence throughout the country through the Bureau of Irrigation Investigations at Washington, then served eight years in Australia as chief of its reclamation and settlement work, and finally became chairman of the Land Settlement Board in California, where he established the model colony of Durham, and is now planning larger developments.¹

The great thought that Dr. Mead has

¹See articles by Secretary Lane and Dr. Mead in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for March, 1919, pp. 369-377.

forced into the national consciousness is this: The Land must be ready for the Man, and the Man must be ready for the Land. Not only must we irrigate and drain and pull stumps, but we must level and fertilize, when necessary. We are to build self-sustaining homes, and the land must be absolutely fit before the man begins. Then the man must be as fit as the land. Some men are fit and require only the light of example to guide them into the highest forms of agriculture, but those without knowledge or experience must be educated. This is possible with men possessing the taste and adaptability for country life, and only such men will be accepted.

Achievements—and Mistakes

The national irrigation act has been on the statute books seventeen years. During that time the Reclamation Service, alike under its first Director, Frederick H. Newell, and his successor, Arthur P. Davis, has made a record for integrity and efficiency unmatched by any other department of the Government, a record of which its friends are intensely proud. With the rather beggarly sum of \$118,000,000 derived from public land sales, it has turned rivers out of their courses—one which formerly sent its surplus to the Arctic now flows to the Gulf of Mexico!—built mighty dams, including the two highest in the world, reclaimed 2,000,000 acres of land, created 40,000 homes, induced great railroad extensions, and established all the institutions of civilization in the desert wilderness.

Has it paid? To take one example: The development in Salt River Valley, Arizona, including the monumental Roosevelt Dam, cost about \$11,000,000, and last year's crops exceeded \$18,000,000. But figures are cold. To understand how it has paid one should see the homes of Salt River Valley and listen to the laughter of its children. It's a paradise!

Mistakes in the law? Yes, it was a mistake to stop with bringing the water to the land, leaving the untried settler to deal with savage Nature and grope in the darkness of inexperience. Hence, the complete preparedness, which is the essence of the new policy.

It was a mistake to give the Government no power of selection, but to permit anybody to take land regardless of qualifications or working capital.

It was a mistake to erect no safeguard

against speculation in favor of the industrious and ambitious family wishing to make a home in good faith.

It was a mistake to compel the expenditure of the money in certain localities as the result of the effort to satisfy everybody's enthusiasm "for the Old Flag and an Appropriation," instead of permitting the merit of the project to dominate all other considerations.

These mistakes have been rectified in the new and infinitely greater policy now pending before Congress.

The Leadership of Mondell

The Soldier Settlement bill, introduced by Senator Myers, of Montana, and Representative Taylor, of Colorado, failed to come to a vote in the last Congress. It had loyal friends, but the Democratic leaders were not united in its support.

The situation is precisely reversed in the new Republican Congress. Mr. Mondell, of Wyoming, leader of the House, is one of the oldest friends of the reclamation cause, and the great dams which control the flow of Western streams are largely monuments to his statesmanship. On coming to the leadership he addressed himself with energy and enthusiasm to the work of perfecting what is admittedly the greatest constructive measure this country has ever undertaken.

He raised the proposed appropriation from \$100,000,000 to \$500,000,000, but only a fourth of this sum will be required for the first fiscal year. The bill applies to every State having feasible projects, a condition already discovered in about forty States. And this is perhaps a good place to remark that the region chiefly to be benefited by this epoch-making policy is not merely the Far West nor even the South. The entire nation is to be benefited, and States like those of New England, like Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois and Indiana, are to be shown by the wise expenditure of \$10,000,000 to \$15,000,000 in each one of them, how their rural life can be made sufficiently attractive to hold their young men and women with hooks of steel, instead of seeing them emigrate to newer sections dominated by more progressive ideas. And they will discover how to provide a degree of comfort and contentment which will attract and satisfy the needed workers, and so solve the vexed farm-labor problem. Thus the character of their rural life will be revolutionized through the in-

fluence of the new community settlements.

The term "community settlements," by the way, should not be understood as implying that all the farmers will live in town. "What we have in mind," says Secretary Lane, "is a happy compromise between the French village plan and the isolated American farm home." This is to be brought about by means of good roads, the shaping of farms in such a way as to minimize the distance between homes, and the creation of centers with all modern advantages. To a certain extent, it is hoped that "the bright lights" may be put into the country. However, many returning soldiers express admiration for the French village system, and those whose lands lie near the center may adopt it if they wish.

Senator Smoot and Utah Ideas

Senator Smoot is the champion of the measure in the upper house, and has incorporated in his version of the bill the principles which have made the Mormon settlements so remarkably successful. He says: "In Utah we have helped men to help themselves, but have never pauperized them by giving them something for nothing. When he found more immigrants on his hands than he could profitably employ at the moment, President Brigham Young set them at work building needless walls around Salt Lake City that they might earn their living and repay advances rather than eat the bread of idleness."

Hence, Senator Smoot provides that the Government shall withhold at least 10 per cent. of wages paid soldiers while employed on construction so that they shall have the necessary first installment to pay on land, improvements, live stock and equipment, and get well started on the road to thrift and property-ownership. The money so withheld will be placed at 4 per cent. interest and repaid to the soldier in full in case he fails to take an allotment at the end of his period of employment—say, one to three years.

Safeguard Against Bureaucracy

A most important provision of the Mondell bill erects an adequate safeguard against the dangers of Washington bureaucracy. A policy which should bring tens of thousands of settlers into an intimate relationship with public authority centered at the national capital, in many cases hundreds or even thousands of miles from their homes, would be

obviously fraught with inconvenience, if not with danger.

The Mondell bill provides that when any State shall advance 25 per cent. as much capital as the general Government for projects in that State, the whole administration shall be taken over by local authority at the point where subdivision begins. Many States have already taken steps in that direction. California has proposed to duplicate, 100 per cent. strong, the national fund available within her borders. Thus the whole human problem—the problem of selecting and directing settlers, including the organization of their social life and any coöperative buying or selling agencies they may care to engage in—will be under the leadership of their home people.

Objections to the Policy

A representative of a national farmers' organization appeared in opposition at one of the committee hearings on the ground that the policy will tend to reduce high cost of living. He admitted that three-fourths of the people favored the bill. His argument was not impressive.

A member of Congress representing an Eastern agricultural district says his constituents are short of hired men and would like to have soldiers reserved for seasonal farm labor. Hence, he thinks the bill pernicious. The proposition to show our soldier boys the way to economic independence does not appeal to him at all. As a matter of fact, the bill does provide for a certain amount of farm labor, but in connection with soldier settlements and with very different provision for housing and other living advantages than those made by the average farmer. "More perniciousness," growls the objector.

Some people object to \$500,000,000 "to provide employment and rural homes for those who served with the military and naval forces of the United States," including the charming nurses and yeomanettes. Ten days' cost of war to be squandered on the healing work of peace!

Such are the objections, but they are overruled by overwhelming public sentiment.

The New Hindenburg Line to Be Broken

The new national policy will do more than merely to provide employment and rural homes for soldiers. To put it in another way, it will enable the soldier to do another

great service for his country. As he broke the Hindenburg line in France, so he will break the dead line of a form of rural life which has lost its hold upon the hearts of our people.

Recent social surveys have exploded the myth about the superior healthfulness, intelligence and civic spirit of American country life. The selective draft disclosed the fact that there were more rejections for physical disability among country-bred than among city-bred young men. Exact figures concerning diseases most prevalent throughout the country show that the city, with its good sewerage, water supply and inspected milk, is actually a more healthful place to live than the average countryside. Comparison of school facilities, alike in teachers' length of service, of grading, of vocational and technical facilities, is all in favor of the city. Even the organized city playground seems to yield better results than children get from the free run of the country.

These tendencies must be reversed if America is to be kept sound at the core. Rural life must be reorganized and lifted to higher standards. Massachusetts, for example, had three times as much land under cultivation a hundred years ago as she has to-day. Her agriculture was killed by the

cheap lands of the West. Those lands are no longer cheap, any more than they are free. They are worth all the way from \$100 to \$500 an acre, and some of them earn enormous dividends upon the latter figure, while Massachusetts lands may be had from \$2.50 to \$15 an acre.

"Go East, young man!"

This is the cry of the future, and it rests on precisely the same logic as that which animated the famous Greeley saying. The opportunity of cheap land, plus the opportunity of great markets with multiplying millions of unsatisfied consumers, is in the East. And yet it is no opportunity at all unless America shall be made over, her rich overflow lands drained, her cut-over lands freed of stumps, her abandoned farms redeemed, fertilized—and irrigated!

The policy embodied in the Mondell bill will make a new America. It will send the roots of democracy deeper than they have ever struck before. It will give a new incentive to personal ambition, and a keener edge to that quality of individual initiative which has made us what we are as a people. It will erect an impregnable barrier against Bolshevism. And all this will be done under the kindly leadership of the Nation, cooperating with the several States, in paying its tribute of gratitude to the returning soldiers.

WHY BOLSHEVISM WILL FAIL IN AMERICA

A WORKINGMAN'S OPINION

BY ALBERT W. BARNES

THE vast amount of space devoted to the discussion of Bolshevism and its various phases in our leading papers and magazines leads one to infer that serious apprehension is felt throughout the country in regard to its growth here and the serious effect that it may have upon our institutions.

But why so much alarm?

In the first place, to attach so much importance to this utterly un-American movement and to give it so much needless advertisement is in itself a serious mistake, and is but adding fuel to the fires of discontent which must necessarily smoulder here and there during this period of reconstruction

with its attendant evils of unemployment and industrial unrest.

Still, we must take this movement seriously, for it is, to a certain extent, a worldwide upheaval. We must not for one moment relax our vigilance, and must guard carefully the sacred institutions under which we, as a country, have grown and prospered so mightily. At the same time, we should observe the trend of the times and haste to make the necessary reforms which are so essentially needed, so that all the people of this republic may receive a just share in the prosperity which should follow the institution of new methods and ideas.

Briefly enumerated, a few of the reasons why Bolshevism cannot succeed here are:

First, the Attitude of the Churches

America has always possessed a deeply seated religious feeling. It runs a swift current throughout every momentous action of our people; not always plainly visible, but nevertheless still there. Churches of every denomination in this land of religious freedom represent and give that feeling expression. And from no pulpit comes approval of this movement, but rather words of condemnation and disgust. For religious sentiment is a strong bulwark, firmly set on the side of law and order and against any movement which has a tendency to overthrow the sanctity of the marriage vow, the breaking up of family ties and the wave of immorality which necessarily would follow such action.

Without discussion of the various creeds, we must all admit that to a great extent, the stability of the Government rests upon the churches' united influence for good.

Second, Organized Labor's Stand

It is often stated that organized labor does not represent the majority of the working people of this country, and that they constitute but a small percentage of the whole. This statement, when based upon actual figures, is doubtless true to a certain extent, yet I believe and think that all legislators will agree with me, that practically all the recent laws enacted for the betterment of the workers have been placed upon the books by the concerted action of organized labor acting through their representatives. Conceding this fact and realizing that organized labor has a vast number of adherents and sympathizers not officially listed, it is a pleasure to notice that the great majority of their officials and members, also, are loyal citizens.

A sane, well-informed citizenship, they are content to proceed along conservative lines, realizing that to improve conditions in a proper manner is a constant advance. Bolshevism holds out no promise to them, for they understand conditions and realize that a rebellion, or, what is past belief, a successful revolution can bring nothing save a general upheaval, with its attendant condition of violence, ruin and starvation which would engulf all classes, if there is such distinction of people in this land of equality.

The Returning Soldier

Among the other numerous opponents of Bolshevism we find the returning soldier.

Our vast army, four millions strong, is

being rapidly demobilized, and our boys are returning to peaceful pursuits. Those who have served abroad, who have observed conditions in other lands and who have made comparisons, are gladly returning. Comparisons are odious, is an old saying, but I venture to assert that they are coming home with a better understanding of our ideals.

Rich and poor, they have been comrades together and have learned to understand and admire each other's qualities. For them there is no mass and class. Together they have made innumerable sacrifices to support and sustain our institutions, and they are firmly resolved to still further sustain and carry them on. Mingled with this feeling, they have a certain sort of resentment against those who evaded military service by claiming the protection of another flag. Who now would turn and tear down the institutions so carefully and laboriously established at the cost of many a bloody sacrifice?

They feel that a people who do not care enough for the country in which they are living to obtain the rights of citizenship and who are not willing to defend and make sacrifices for that country, are not entitled to the right to criticize the government and laws of that country. And any attempt to break down by violence, or otherwise, the law and constitution of this country, will be met by the much stronger and more determined opposition of our citizen soldiery.

But in the final summary let us cite public opinion. We, the people, as a whole, are not fully agreed upon the method of making the necessary reforms. But upon one thing the vast majority is in accord. We are willing to settle our disputes with the one effective weapon, the ballot.

It has been our citizens' right and privilege ever since this nation was first established, with the principle of free speech as one of its chief institutions, to criticize and discuss the acts of the government. No doubt, during the last two years, this privilege has been greatly curtailed. Whether wisely or not, it is not my intention to express an opinion. But now that the ban has been lifted, perhaps in the heat of partisanship we go too far and speak too freely.

But let no man make the mistake of taking our discussions too seriously. For the moment that any principle vital to the interests of this country is assailed, we will become a united body, all partisan feeling cast to one side and all banded together to defend to the extreme limit the principles for which our forefathers fought and died.

A CENTURY OF EUROPEAN CONSTITUTION-MAKING

BY FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG

(Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin)

UNTIL the world war, the chief political movement of the twentieth century was the widespread uprisings, in Russia, China, Turkey, Persia, and elsewhere, aimed at the establishment of liberal forms of government based on written constitutions. What took place up to 1914, however, was only a prologue to the great drama of political reconstruction now being enacted under our very eyes; a year's time promises to yield a crop of new governmental systems which will make yesterday's text-books on political science as obsolete as pre-war manuals of military tactics.

Russia has a new constitution, promulgated last July by the fifth Congress of Soviets. It may not endure, but if it perishes another of some sort will rise in its place. In the picturesque old town of Weimar a National Assembly, elected in January, has been working out a body of organic law for the new Germany. Steps are under way, or are about to be taken, to draw up constitutions for Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and other states that have risen from the wreckage of Czarist Russia and of the Teutonic empires. In Ireland the Sinn Feiners are busy at constitution-making. A constitution for a league of free nations, prepared by a committee of which President Wilson was chairman, was presented at a plenary session of the Peace Conference in February and was adopted, with some changes, in April.

A New Task for Nations

Few people realize how novel in the history of human government this business of constitution-making still is. There are, of course, constitutions of considerable antiquity. There was a Roman constitution, and there is an English constitution which is, in some of its parts, as old as English civilization itself. But neither the Roman constitution nor the English constitution was "made"; the latter, in particular, is a growth, a product of custom as well as

of legislation, a largely unwritten, perfectly flexible, constantly changing body of fundamental law.

The pioneer in constitution-making was America, and the earliest constitutions framed by deliberate act were those which the several States adopted on the advice of the Continental Congress in 1776 and succeeding years. It is true that the English Civil War brought to light at least two documents of the kind, and that one of them—the "Instrument of Government," drawn up by some of Cromwell's officers in 1653—was actually the legal basis of government for about three years. It is also true that the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, whose two hundred and fiftieth anniversary was celebrated at Hartford in 1889, lacked nothing of the character of a constitution save that the document was not the fundamental law of a completely sovereign state. But it remained for the American patriots of Revolutionary times to evolve the full theory and practice of the written constitution.

The Written Constitution—America's Contribution

Quite apart from any precedent, the logic of their situation seemed to them to make the device a necessity. The sovereign people of Massachusetts—to take a concrete case—had erected themselves into a state; they must have a government; but the officers composing this government could have no inherent original right to exercise political power; therefore the structure of the government and the conferred powers of the officials must be defined and the liberties of the individual safeguarded; the only practicable means to this end was a written instrument, resting directly upon the authority of the state and unalterable alike by government and by individual. This is, of course, the philosophy that underlies all modern constitutions. In these days it seems obvious

and commonplace. It is, none the less, the greatest single contribution of America to the science of government.

France Adopts the Idea

From America the idea passed to France. When, in 1779, Franklin displayed in Paris the new constitution of his native State, and in 1780 John Adams carried thither the recently adopted Massachusetts instrument, Frenchmen instantly recognized and applauded doctrines with which their own heads were filled. Fresh interest was aroused when, in 1783, Franklin brought out a French edition of all the American fundamental laws; and the constitution drawn up at Philadelphia in 1787 was discussed with hardly less spirit in the salons and clubs of Paris than in the coffee-houses of New York and the drawing-rooms of the Virginia planters.

Two years later the *cahiers* of the middle classes demanded a written constitution for the kingdom, and in the famous Tennis Court oath of 1789 the people's representatives swore never to disband until this end should have been attained. The plan was carried out, and in 1791 France received her first written constitution. Thereafter, in spite of swift changes of the form of government and widely varying conceptions of the rights of the individual, the principle of a fundamental written law lay at the root of all French political régimes. The idea became fixed, indeed, that a true constitution must be a written one. A constitution has no existence, said Thomas Paine, so long as it cannot be carried in the pocket. De Tocqueville, writing forty years later, cut the Gordian knot of England's intermingled law and custom by declaring that that country had no constitution at all.

Napoleon's So-Called Constitutions

It lay within the plans of Revolutionary France to extend constitutional government far and wide beyond her own borders, and in 1795 a beginning was made in Holland, now recognized as the Batavian republic. It fell, however, to Napoleon to carry out the plan; and his era became prolific of written constitutions. Beginning with the Cisalpine republic in 1797, the conqueror spread his paper plans of government over all Italy and Spain, and over much of Germany. These constitutions were hardly more than convenient disguises of despotism; but they at least served to familiarize all western and central

Europe with the idea of government limited by solemnly proclaimed rules and principles.

By 1815 it was generally recognized on the continent that any political system that made pretension to liberal inclinations must be based on a written constitution. Hence the Bourbon Louis XVIII, returning to Paris, hastened to promulgate the "constitutional charter" which, with some modification in 1830, remained the fundamental law of France until 1848. Hence, too, William I, King of the United Netherlands, in the following year similarly fulfilled an earlier promise to his people. Hence, also, the princes of the lesser German states began, as early as 1816, to put their several realms upon a constitutional basis.

Charters Granted by Rulers

Constitutions may be the product of gradual evolution, as is the English. They may be deliberately created by the people of newly established states, as was our own. They may spring directly from revolution, as did the French constitution of 1791, the Chinese of 1912, or the Russian of 1918. Or, finally, they may be granted by ruling princes by virtue of their sovereign authority. Most European constitutions dating from the first half of the nineteenth century would fall into the last-mentioned category. They were made by the prince or under his direction; they were promulgated and enforced in his name; they could be revoked or amended by him; they were concessions to the democratic principle which left the prince legally no less autocratic than before. In some of the German states the theory was developed that the constitution was in the nature of an agreement between the prince and the assembly of estates. But even where this contractual basis was fully recognized, popular control over the fundamental law was, in practice, at a minimum.

Organic Laws Based on Popular Vote

Constitution-framing, however, went on apace, and now and again appeared an organic law which could be regarded as a genuine popular product. Such was the Belgian constitution of 1831, framed by a national congress of two hundred elected delegates; the Swiss constitution of 1848, adopted by the federal diet and ratified by popular vote; and the constitution of the second French republic, drafted and put into effect in 1848 by an assembly chosen for the express purpose by manhood suffrage. The

third of these instruments was ill-fated, being quickly superseded by a fundamental law of dubious origin under which Napoleon III ruled France to 1870; but the Belgian instrument, which long enjoyed the distinction of being the most liberal in Europe, has lasted to the present day with but little change, and the Swiss was overhauled in 1874 merely with a view to increasing the powers of the central government. To these mid-century liberal constitutions should be added the *Statuto* promulgated by Charles Albert of Piedmont in 1848; for although it was "granted" rather than popularly framed, it was of sufficiently advanced character to be made to serve to this day without essential change as united Italy's constitution.

The German Failure of 1848

Of great present-day interest is the failure of German constitution-making in 1848. At the outbreak of the revolutionary movements of that year the two principal German states, Austria and Prussia, were still without written constitutions, and Germany as a whole was bound together but loosely under the confederate constitution devised at Vienna in 1815. In Prussia, it is true, a written constitution was now for the first time obtained. But the instrument (promulgated January 31, 1850) was clearly of the "granted" variety; though modelled on the fundamental law of Belgium, it was highly undemocratic; even its royal author pronounced it a "product of the moment;" and down to the present hour it has had the distinction of being the most illiberal in Europe. Austria also obtained a constitution during the mid-century upheaval. But it was a mere makeshift, designed to tide the young Franz Joseph's government over the crisis; and at the earliest opportunity, in 1851, it was revoked. Not until 1867 did the Hapsburg empire receive the emperor-made fundamental law under which it lived until the collapse of last November.

The real tragedy of 1848 in Germany lay, however, in the failure of the liberal forces to unite the whole country under a genuine constitutional system. The problem was attacked by a national assembly of 586 members, elected by manhood suffrage, representing all the lands from the Vosges to the Vistula and from the Baltic to the Alps, and convened in the Pauluskirche at Frankfurt, May 18, 1848. The princes kept hands off, and externally the situation was reasonably favorable. But the delegates,

who fell into eleven distinct parties, spent their time in wrangling, often over irrelevant matters; and when they finally published a plan for a constitutional empire with a bicameral parliament, manhood suffrage, and a responsible ministry, the movement had so far lost ground that the refusal of the king of Prussia to accept the proffered imperial title toppled the entire project into the dust. Constitution-making reverted into the hands of the princes, and never again—at all events until the present day—did liberalism have so good an opportunity to lay the foundations of a constitutional, enlightened, humane Germany.

Constitution of the German Empire, from 1871 to 1914

How, under the Bismarckian régime of "blood and iron," united Germany finally acquired a constitution is an oft-told story. As soon as peace was concluded with Austria in 1866 the states north of the Main were invited to send representatives to Berlin to discuss plans for the long-awaited union. All accepted, and the delegates appeared at the Prussian capital in December. Bismarck had in readiness the complete draft of a constitution. It is said that he dictated it to his secretary in a single evening. Perhaps he did so; but the instrument was the product of years of practical experience and the most painstaking deliberation. The delegates approved it with practically no change, February 2, 1867; after which it was ratified both by a "constituent Bundestag" specially chosen by manhood suffrage and by the diets or parliaments of the twenty-two states. It served for four years as the constitution of the North German Confederation, and then became, in 1871, the constitution of the German Empire, with only such minor changes as were made necessary by the adoption of the imperial title and the accession of the four states south of the Main. These changes were made without resort to convention or referendum, for the constitution already provided for its own amendment by concurrent action of the Bundesrath and Reichstag.

France's Seven Constitutions

France has been the most prolific constitution-maker of Europe; since 1791 she has actually lived under seven totally different bodies of fundamental law. The last chapter of her experience has been perhaps the most curious. There are those who re-

gard the republic to-day as, like England, a land of an unwritten constitution, for the reason that the organic laws adopted in 1875 are so meager as to afford only the barest outline of a constitutional system. All written constitutions, however, are in their essence outlines; all have to be rounded out with usage and statute in order to be made really workable; and there is no more reason for denying that the French organic laws form a constitution than for similarly withholding recognition from the Italian *Statuto* or the Austrian *Staatsgrundgesetze* of 1867.

What is really most peculiar about the present French constitution is the mode of its adoption. The instrument is the fruit of revolution—the peaceful but none the less real revolution which came with the collapse of the Second Empire after the capture of Napoleon III. at Sedan—and its maker was the National Assembly elected in the dark days of 1871 solely on the question of the continuation of the war. By sheer assumption of authority, the Assembly made itself not only the *de facto* government of the country but also a constituent body; and when, after years of delay, it finally framed the organic laws of 1875 it proclaimed them and put them into effect with no formal appeal whatsoever to the will of the nation.

This is the more remarkable in view of the fact that until then France had made consistent use of the principle of the plebiscite. Beginning with the ill-fated republican frame of government of 1793, all of her successive constitutions save one or two were submitted to a direct popular vote. The constitution of 1875 was not so submitted, and it went into operation as the work of a revolutionary, provisional government body which had no authority to make a constitution at all. Its sanction was, and has always been, simply the informally expressed assent of the nation.

Conclusions from European Experience

All of this goes to show that there is no royal road to good government. By and large, Europe's experience in constitution-making during the past hundred years leads, however, to certain conclusions: (1) that, apart from the wholly exceptional case of England, written constitutions are natural and necessary aids to liberal government; (2) that the trend is away from the constitution that is merely granted and toward the organic law which springs solely or mainly from popular initiative; (3) that con-

stitutions are no longer to be regarded as in the nature of compacts between princes and peoples; (4) that systems of government are, and must be, flexible, with a view to progressive readjustment to changing conditions and ideals; (5) that, therefore, written constitutions should be capable—as, indeed, most European constitutions save the Italian now are—of easy amendment; and (6) that it is desirable to dissociate constituent functions from ordinary legislative functions, at least to the extent to which this is done in France, where the senators and deputies do indeed amend the constitution, but only when sitting at Versailles as one body under the name of a national assembly.

Germany's New Constitution

In taking up their task of political reconstruction the former Teutonic empires have duly recognized these facts. They have set about the formation of governmental systems resting on written, popular, flexible constitutions drawn up by conventions specially elected for the purpose.

Thus the National Assembly which met at Weimar on February 6, to frame an organic law for the new Germany, was a broadly based body, whose 421 members were chosen by direct vote and secret ballot, according to the principle of proportional representation, and on the basis of one delegate for each 150,000 inhabitants according to the census of 1910. A special electoral law conferred the suffrage upon all Germans, men and women, who had attained the age of twenty; and of the thirty-nine millions eligible to take part in the elections, more than twenty-seven millions did so.

When the Assembly met it found ready to hand a draft of a constitution drawn up at a conference of widely-known authorities on constitutional law; and the plan so commended itself to the Majority Socialists and Democrats, who controlled the Assembly's deliberations, that within two weeks an instrument, in seven divisions and 109 articles, was ready for its final touches.

A federal republic, with ample guarantees of individual liberties, a democratic Assembly, an upper chamber limited on the lines of the British House of Lords, and a chief executive subject to recall through a popular vote, seemed most likely to be the outcome. The question in which the world is chiefly interested, namely, whether the people are to possess actual as well as nominal control, has not as yet been conclusively answered.

POETS' TRIBUTES TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THEODORE ROOSEVELT loved virile poetry and knew many poets intimately. He did much to encourage a high level of excellence in their work and launched several versifiers during his lifetime upon the tide of popularity. Thus it is as one comrade to another that the poets of America have paid tribute to him. Remembering their John Bunyan, they have written of Roosevelt as "Mr. Valiant" and as "Great-Heart." They have written reverently, realizing that no tribute of words could do justice to the epic of his life, and with the feeling that his strenuous immersion in activity served noble ends far beyond the immediate purpose of his deeds. The aim of Roosevelt and that of the poet are in a sense identical. Both in poesy and in the life of Roosevelt is the aim to conquer Time, to make life—by intensity—outrun its hours. Theodore Roosevelt lived as Alfred Noyes said Nelson lived: "Gazing beyond all perishable fears to some diviner goal above the waste of years."

From the many poems that were published during the weeks following his death, the following nine have been selected as representative of the feeling of American and British poets toward the great national leader. "With the Tide," by Edith Wharton, was published in the *Saturday Evening Post* for March 29th.

WITH THE TIDE

By Edith Wharton

Somewhere I read, in an old book whose name
Is gone from me, I read that when the days
Of a man are counted, and his business done
There comes up the shore at evening, with the
tide,

To the place where he sits a boat—
And in the boat, from the place where he sits,
he sees,

Dim in the dusk, dim and yet so familiar,
The faces of his friends long dead; and knows
They come for him, brought in upon the tide,
To take him where men go at set of day.
Then rising, with his hands in theirs, he goes
Between them his last steps, that are the first
Of the new life—and with the ebb they pass,
Their shaken sail grown small upon the moon.

Often I thought of this, and pictured me
How many a man who lives with throngs about
him.

Yet straining through the twilight for that boat
Shall scarce make out one figure in the stern,
And that so faint its features shall perplex him
With doubtful memories—and his heart hang
back.

But others, rising as they see the sail
Increase upon the sunset, hasten down,
Hands out and eyes elated; for they see
Head over head, crowding from bow to stern,
Repeopling their long loneliness with smiles,
The faces of their friends; and such go forth
Content upon the ebb tide, with safe hearts.

But never

To worker summoned when his day was done
Did mounting tide bring in such freight of friends
As stole to you up the white wintry shingle
That night while they that watched you thought
you slept.

Softly they came, and beached the boat, and
gathered

In the still cove under the icy stars,
Your last-born, and the dear loves of your heart,
And all men that have loved right more than
ease,

And honor above honors; all who gave
Free-handed of their best for other men,
And thought their giving taking: they who knew
Man's natural state is effort, up and up—
All these were there, so great a company
Perchance you marveled, wondering what great
ship

Had brought that throng unnumbered to the
cove

Where the boys used to beach their light canoe
After old happy picnics—

But these, your friends and children, to whose
hands

Committed, in the silent night you rose
And took your last faint steps—
These led you down, O great American,
Down to the winter night and the white beach,
And there you saw that the huge hull that waited
Was not as are the boats of the other dead,
Frail craft for a brief passage; no, for this
Was first of a long line of towering transports,
Storm-worn and ocean-weary every one,
The ships you launched, the ships you manned,
the ships

That now, returning from their sacred quest
With the thrice-sacred burden of their dead,
Lay waiting there to take you forth with them,
Out with the ebb tide, on some farther quest.

Hyères, January 7th, 1919.

Mrs. Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, the
poet-sister of Roosevelt, has written several
poems in memory of her brother, which are
published in her new collection of verse,

"Service and Sacrifice" (Scribner's). She has written of him also as "Valiant for Truth" in a moving poem that praises his ardency and fearlessness in defense of his ideals. In another poem entitled "Theodore Roosevelt," she has given lyrical form to the tribute paid him by another woman. This is in part as follows:

I never clasped his hand,
He never knew my name,
And yet at his command
I followed like a flame.

* * * * *

His words would lift the veil
That blurred my tired eyes,
They seemed to strengthen me
To serve and sacrifice.

And all the values lost
When life was cold and grim,
Were clear and true again,
Interpreted by him.

* * * * *

Clad in an armored truth,
And by high purpose shod,
He gave us back our youth,
Our country and our God.

In a tribute "To My Brother," Mrs. Robinson writes of the sunniness of his nature, of the zest and charm and sympathy that continually and freshly endeared him to the members of his family circle:

TO MY BROTHER

I loved you for your loving ways,
The ways that many did not know;
Although my heart would beat and glow
When Nations crowned you with their bays.

I loved you for the tender hand
That held my own so close and warm,
I loved you for the winning charm
That brought gay sunshine to the land.

I loved you for the heart that knew
The need of every little child;
I loved you when you turned and smiled—
It was as though a fresh wind blew.

I loved you for your loving ways,
The look that leaped to meet my eye,
The ever-ready sympathy,
The generous ardor of your praise.

I loved you for the buoyant fun
That made perpetual holiday
For all who ever crossed your way,
The highest or the humblest one.

I loved you for the radiant zest,
The thrill and glamour that you gave
To each glad hour that we could save
And garner from Time's grim behest.

I loved you for your loving ways—
And just because I loved them so,
And now have lost them—thus I know
I must go softly all my days!

"Great-Heart," a poem dedicated to the memory of Theodore Roosevelt, by Rudyard Kipling, appeared on February 8, in the Philadelphia *Evening Ledger*.

"GREAT-HEART"

By Rudyard Kipling

[“The interpreter then called for a man-servant of his, one Great-Heart.”—Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress."]

Concerning brave captains
Our age hath made known
For all men to honor,
One standeth alone,
Of whom, o'er both oceans,
Both peoples may say:
“Our realm is diminished
With Great-Heart away.”

Plain speech with plain folk,
And plain words for false things,
Plain faith in plain dealing
’Twixt neighbors or kings
He used and he followed,
However it sped . . .
Oh, our world is none more honest
Now Great-Heart is dead.

The heat of his spirit
Struck warm through all lands;
For he loved such as showed
’Emselves men of their hands,
In love, as in hate,
Paying home to the last . . .
But our world is none the kinder
Now Great-Heart hath passed.

Let those who would handle
Make sure they can wield
His far-reaching sword
And his close-guarding shield;
For those who must journey
Henceforward alone
Have need of stout convoy
Now Great-Heart is gone.

One of the most eloquent of the shorter poems is by Amelia Josephine Burr. In "Mr. Valiant Passes Over," one feels the illimitable power of life, not only here but in the "beyond."

MR. VALIANT PASSES OVER

(January 6, 1919)

By Amelia Josephine Burr

When the Post came and told him that at last
The pitcher that so faithfully and long
Had served his fellow-creatures in their thirst
Was broken at the fountain, Valiant said:
"I am going to my Father's; and, although
Not easily I came to where I am,
My pains upon the journey were well spent.
My sword I give to him who shall succeed
My pilgrim steps upon the Royal Road;
My courage and my skill I leave to him
Who can attain them—but my marks and scars
I carry with me for my King to see
As witness of his battles that I fought."
As he went down into the river, many
Stood on the bank, and heard him say, "O death,
Where is thy sting?" And as the water grew
Deeper—"O grave, where is thy victory?"

So he passed over, and the trumpets all
Sounded for him upon the other side.
*John Bunyan, did you laugh in paradise
For joy to-day, to see your dream come true?*

Edward S. Van Zile's verses published in the New York *Evening Sun* touch the feeling that most of us have that his ideals must be embodied in our national life.

CLOSE UP THE RANKS!

By Edward S. Van Zile

I

Gently Death came to him and bent to him asleep;
His spirit passed, and, lo, his lovers weep,*
But not for him, for him the unafraid—
In tears, we ask, "Who'll lead the great crusade?"

II

"Who'll hearten us to carry on the war
For those ideals our fathers battled for;
To give our hearts to one dear flag alone,
The flag beloved whose splendid soul has flown?"

III

With his last breath he gave a clarion cry:
"They only serve who do not fear to die;
He only lives who's worthy of our dead!
Beware the peril of the seed that's spread."

IV

"By them who'll reap a harvest of despair,
By them whose dreams unstable are as air;
By them who see the rainbow in the sky,
But not the storm that threatens by and by."

V

Our leader rests, his voice forever still,
But let us vow to do our leader's will!
Close up the ranks! Our Captain is not dead!
His soul shall live, and by his soul we're led.

Mr. Charles Hanson Towne's poem published in the New York *Tribune* gives the last word of Cecil Rhodes—that there was still so much for him to do—as typifying the tirelessness and eagerness of Roosevelt. That he must pass on to some "divine adventure," the poet is certain.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

By Charles Hanson Towne

I

On what divine adventure has he gone?
Beyond what peaks of dawn
Is he now faring? On what errand blest
Has his impulsive heart now turned? No rest
Could be the portion of his tireless soul.
He seeks some frenzied goal
Where he can labor on till Time is not,
And earth is nothing but a thing forgot.

II

Pilot and Prophet! as the years increase
The sorrow of your passing will not cease.
We love to think of you still moving on
From sun to blazing sun,
From planet to far planet, to some height
Of clear perfection in the Infinite,
Where with the wise Immortals you can find
The Peace you fought for with your heart and mind.

Yet from that bourne where you are journeying
Sometimes we think we hear you whispering,

July—6

"I went away, O world, so false and true,
I went away—with still so much to do!"

Samuel Valentine Cole, in his stirring poem published in the *Outlook*, expresses his belief that the life of Roosevelt is a splendid heritage, and one whose power will grow with the years.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

(Memorial Day, February 9, 1919)

By Samuel Valentine Cole

Half-mast the flag, and let the bell be tolled:
A tower of strength he was, whose presence drew

The people around him, and to-day is rolled
A wave of unaccustomed sorrow through
The land he loved; whatever now be said,
The latest great American is dead.

How quick he slipped from us—this man of might,
Heroic courage, life-abounding ways!
When God's great angel in the silent night
Brought, though invisible to others' gaze,
Some whispered message, he obedient heard,
Left all, and followed him without a word.

He stood for honest purposes: unroll
The record of his years, you seek in vain
For life's disfigurements—there lies the scroll,
No blots upon it, nothing to explain;
But what is worthy and to all men's sight
As open as a landscape to the light.

So lived this man, and died, and lives again—
A white dynamic memory in the land.
Oh, what a heritage, my countrymen!

He'll plead forever now, with voice and hand,
Our righteous causes, and his power will grow.
Cease tolling, bell, and let the bugles blow!

The last words spoken by Roosevelt—"Put out the light"—gave Edith Daley inspiration for a beautiful poem that appeared in the San Francisco *Chronicle*:

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

By Edith Daley

"Put out the light!" Altho the stars were dim,
What need of feeble flickering lamps to him
In that high-altared hour? The touch of sleep
Had brought remembrance of his tryst to keep—
A morning tryst—with God's gray messenger.
No sound—no cry—no hesitating stir;
His fearless soul long since had knelt and kissed
A waiting Cross; had borne it through life's mist
From an unlighted lone Gethsemane
To the Christ-hallowed crest of Calvary.

"Put out the light!" Men smile through falling tears,

Remembering the courage of his years
That stood, each one, for God, humanity
And covenanted world-wide Liberty!
The Nation mourns. Laurel the chancel-rail;
Muffle the drums. Columbia's banners trail
Their grieving folds; but memories of him flame
And light the deathless glory of his name.

"Put out the light!" He needs it not who won
A place of permanence within the sun!

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

RUSSIA TO-DAY

THERE is a group of three articles on various aspects of the Russian problem in the May number of the *Fortnightly Review*. Sir Paul Vinogradoff says that the tragic crisis through which Russia is passing is due to a fundamental conflict between East and West. Russians are divided, not so much by party creeds or by class hatreds, as by cultural differences; the great mass of the nation is still on the track of the East, while the educated few have gone far West, so far, indeed, that some of the most extreme among them have, as it were, traveled round the world, and have come to join hands with the most Eastern set of their countrymen:

In other words, the great trouble in Russia is the dualism of culture, the lack of cohesion between Western and Eastern traditions. And it is certainly not by abstention from political activity that the evil can be removed. On the contrary, only education and coöperation in self-government can help to bridge over the chasm. The common work in the *Zemstvos* was beginning to take effect in this direction, and it is one of the greatest miseries of the Bolshevik catastrophe that it has broken the threads which were forming themselves. Only a revival and a widening of coöperation on a democratic basis can counteract this social disruption.

Mr. R. Crosier Long discusses in some detail and with a mass of illuminating figures the finance of Bolshevism, a consideration of which leaves the reader in complete agreement with his concluding paragraph:

Looked at in perspective the Bolshevik financial and economical system appears a vast apparatus for regulating progressive impoverishment. With the production and taxation of real wealth it has nothing to do. Its efficiency, within the limits of its functions, is, however, considerable. Only the peasant population, one must remember, is producing anything worth mentioning, and it produces little. If the urban population were fed, clothed, and warmed in proportion to its production of wealth, it would perish entirely in three months. The paper-money system, backed by Red Guard requisitioning, prevents this; the small quantity of goods produced is distributed over the whole country; and instead of part of the population dying suddenly, the whole nation moves slowly towards extinction.

Finally, Mrs. Blakey contributes some vivid personal experiences of life in the Ukraine under the Bolshevik régime. It is a story of strikes, anarchy, and civil war which rendered life intolerable. It answers questions that everyone is asking to-day about the practical outcome of Bolshevik rule.

MR. HENDERSON ON BRITISH LABOR UNREST

THE industrial unrest, which to-day is the most pressing and complex domestic concern of the British Government and the nation, is no phenomenon arising out of the war or the conditions created by the war, says Mr. Arthur Henderson in the April *Contemporary*, but a permanent feature of the present industrial system, which fluctuates in intensity and gravity according to changing industrial and political conditions. It is the result of an ever-present insurgent

spirit, which has been described as the "spirit of divine discontent," and which is in essence a moral struggle to attain to that complete development and fullness of human life which is the right of all, but the actual attainment of few. The workers in all lands are profoundly dissatisfied with their lot.

It is obvious that a new policy is needed, and the purpose of Mr. Henderson's article is to indicate in outline the shape which the new policy should take. He advocates in

general terms the inauguration on a substantial scale of the system of public ownership and the extension of the system of public control, which should be accompanied by a full recognition of the claim of the workers to an equal interest in the management of the various industries, and a larger measure of control over the working conditions which affect them. His concluding words are the most important in his article:

Finally, it must be stated that whatever remedies are adopted with a view to allaying the causes of the present unrest, they will fail to effect more than a temporary settlement unless a real effort is made in the direction of substituting the interests of the community as a whole for the interests of individuals. The motive of public service and public welfare should be the keystone of our industrial system, but this cannot be accomplished so long as industry continues to be run under private ownership for private gain. The war has changed old values and created new standards, and to-day the worker in industry re-

fuses to regard himself or to be regarded as the instrument of his employer. During the war he was a national unit, contributing to the common effort and sacrifice; and he desires to continue, in peace conditions, the servant only of the community as a whole. This is one of the reasons why the question of public ownership and democratic control has become a principal demand, especially amongst the miners, railwaymen, and transport workers.

To bring about industrial peace, we must begin at once to build a new industrial structure, not in the interest of capital, but in the interest of the community. This will involve tremendous changes, and the need to-day is for a new industrial policy which will carry the nation safely through the drastic alterations which the workers are demanding. National interest demands increased national output. This does not depend upon long hours and unsatisfactory conditions of employment. It does certainly depend largely on securing increased confidence between all who are concerned in the success of industry. It is essential, therefore, that the causes of the general unrest should be examined and solutions adequate to the needs of the case speedily applied if we are to remain a powerful unit in world development.

ITALY AND FIUME

HAVING regard to President Wilson's publication of his reasons for objecting to the cession of Fiume to Italy the official statement of Italy's claims to this port laid before the Conference in Paris may be of interest. It is reprinted in the April number of the *International Review* from the *Italian Gazette del Popolo*. After recounting the history of the resistance of Fiume against all attempts to reunite it with Croatia the document proceeds:

Fiume completes the defensive system of the neighboring countries, and the Italian possession of Fiume also rounds off that anti-German program of the Adriatic system which ought to arise out of the war. Italy alone, as the only great maritime power, can have the means of carrying out the program which corresponds to the collective interests of the powers who have fought this war side by side. "Trieste and Fiume," remarked a French writer in 1915, when tracing the frontiers of the future peace, "although in form Austrian and Hungarian ports, are above all German harbors, the southern points of a line of rule of which Hamburg and Bremen are the corresponding points on the North Sea." It is necessary to see that, while one of these ports, Trieste, is withdrawn from this indirect German rule over the Adriatic, the other, Fiume, should not continue to carry out this German function, while apparently a Jugo-Slav town; and although this German function would be in contradiction to the wishes and the intentions of the new Jugo-Slav state, yet that state would be powerless and unprepared to eliminate old influences or to fore-

stall those new ones which, after the loss of Trieste, the Germans would specially concentrate on the only point where there was a chance of possible penetration. . . .

We must consider in addition the natural aptitudes and the technical means of a maritime nation like the Italians. By putting its own port [of Fiume], and also Trieste, at the complete disposition of the hinterland, she will necessarily reconcile, by means of the best technical apparatus and the most advantageous economy, her own interest with the interests of those who are naturally her clients, and there will be no necessity for exercising political influence or initiating political tutelage contrary to the common policy.

After examining the port concessions which Italy is well disposed to make in order to guarantee the interests of the hinterland, the document continues:

German countries (Germany herself no less than Austria) as well as the Czechoslovak state, the Jugo-Slav countries (Slovenia and Croatia), and Hungary, are bound to make an outlet of Trieste and Fiume. And inevitable rivalries, economic as well as political, must arise between these various states. Therefore, it is obviously difficult, if not impossible, for any foreign sovereignty, except that of the Italians, to secure for these common outlets to the sea that impartial and dispassionate technical government which is an indispensable condition for the rapid and economic development of those ports, and of the railway and steamship lines which should serve them.

As regards the special question of Fiume, it

must be stated that this port cannot be given over to the needs of Croatia. Croatian commerce makes up only six per cent. of the total export and import traffic of Fiume; the remaining traffic belongs to the other countries of the hinterland, and mostly to Hungary. Scarcely 13 per cent. of the total traffic of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina goes through Fiume; the remainder runs through the ports of Lower

Dalmatia. . . . Italy, to the advantage of both ports, and of the productive or consuming countries of the hinterland, will perform a regulating, unifying, and helpful function. Were the states of the hinterland, especially Croatia and Jugoslavia, to attempt to fulfil that function, they would find themselves lacking the necessary wealth, technical equipment, and impartiality of judgment.

FAMINE AND REVOLUTION IN INDIA

NEWS from India is scanty. And yet from the London papers we get an inkling of the seriousness of the situation in that dependency of Great Britain. Last April there was a revolution which affected the provinces of Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab, and the United Provinces. Hundreds of lives have been lost on both the sides. It is admitted that the Sixth City of Amritsar was a scene of serious troubles. Many English banks were looted by the revolutionists, and the entire city was in their hands for about a week. The northern section of Calcutta was in the hands of the revolutionists for two days. Bombay, Ahmedabad, Lahore, Delhi, Gurjanwala, Allahabad, and other cities were tremendously affected by riots and strikes. The Hindus, the Mahomedans, the Sikhs, the Marwaris, and other sects and creeds united in an organized opposition to the British rule in India. India's disarmed people have now been taken under control by British machine-guns, bombing planes, and armored cars.

Then early in May came the news of the invasion of India by the Ameer of Afghanistan, who, according to London despatches, made direct connections with the Russian Government at Moscow. The Afghan armies crossed the borders and occupied several strategic points in British territories. It has been reported since that they have sued for peace.

All last year India was suffering from one of the worst famines in history. The world's preoccupation in the world war crowded out the news of the starvation and death of millions in India. Now that the war is over and death is assuming a threatening attitude the world is allowed to know of the ghastly conditions prevailing in India to-day. Says a Paris cable to the New York *Evening Post*:

England's India is in trouble . . . India is hungry. Famine is impending in many places; it is terribly present in others. There are districts

of India where emaciated men, women, and children are dying by the roadside for lack of food.

This report simply corroborates the facts published in the *Toronto Globe* for April 22:

India is in the deadly grip of plague and famine. . . . In the Central and Northern provinces of India death stalks through the land, taking a toll that makes the great war casualty list pale into insignificance. To date the estimated number of dead from plague and famine in the past year is over 32,000,000. The poor have eaten all their food, and the physical conditions of thousands upon thousands is such that they are too weak even to carry their water jars. . . .

Some conception of the awful death toll may be gathered from the following comparison: If coffins for the 32,000,000 British subjects who have died during the last year through plague and famine were placed, head to feet, they would reach a distance equal to one and one-third times around the equator. Words fail to portray the ghastliness of this stupendous tragedy, and photographs taken in different parts of the country depict scenes too gruesome for publication.

The London *Times* of April 25 contained the following in its Bombay despatches:

India having been swept bare of foodstuffs to meet the exigencies of the war, the people feel that the home government is lukewarm in releasing supplies from outside, and resent particularly that the shipping controller is maintaining high freights on fat and rice from Burma. These severe sufferings are super-imposed on the devastating influenza and cholera epidemics.

Sir J. Meston, the Finance Minister to the Government of India, said in his budget speech at Delhi last March:

For exports of private merchandise the increase is over £9,000,000. The export figures incidentally demonstrate the extent to which India was able to increase her assistance in the way of supplies to the allied nations and their armed forces. Exports of cereals rose by over 50 per cent. to a total in 1917-18 of 5,400,000 tons, valued at £36,000,000. In the case of wheat the record figure of 1,500,000 tons was reached. In the earlier months of the current year, India's contribution of foodstuffs was maintained at an even higher level than in 1917.

ETHICS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE long contribution of Mgr. Henri Chapon, Bishop of Nice, to *Le Correspondant* for April 10, entitled, "War and Peace," is distinctly a sermon, an effort to probe as deeply as may be those impulses of the human heart out of which strife has arisen and still constantly arises.

Beginning with a powerful recital of the German atrocities in the world war, he says: "And now, with all this between us and Germany, we must make peace with her." Looking back from this supreme turning point in history, we see that all the results of the eloquence of Christianity, against aggression, injustice and violence, have been at most a mere palliative, since wars, whether for personal glory or more adequate material gains, have never ceased to arise.

Patriotism has been a misused word. To risk and lose life "for one's country" is glorified as purest heroism, whether the country itself be the shameless aggressor or the innocent defender of its rights or even of its existence. Any trick, even such vulgar forgery as Bismarck's of the Ems dispatch, goes unpunished, because done "for the fatherland." Only in failure is real disgrace. The terrible splendor of the spectacle, the valor, energy, order it evolves, the immense gains won by signal victories in battle, have made Germany question whether the strife itself is not a blessing—even a necessity.

Even if war was admitted to be an evil, it was classed with famine, pestilence, earthquake, lightning,—almost as a force of nature or scourge of God. That the vulgar burglar, the brigand chief, and the imperial destroyer of the world's peace, differ only in the magnitude of their crimes, is a truth never fully brought home to the civilized conscience.

But it is the motive, not the mere act that defines true heroism: "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profits not." The all but fatal losses suffered in this last war, and the clearly contrasted motives of Germany and her foes, make it the largest of object-lessons upon which to base a new moral code to cover the whole question.

The conviction has grown general that destruction and violence are exactly as criminal and avoidable internationally as between individuals, and that all aggression must be made promptly punishable, by a power as

overwhelming relatively as is the force of a city exerted against individual criminals. It is to the vital interest of all states to defend the weakest, so long as it is a peaceful member, in its freedom, its normal activities, and its natural rights.

But such a doctrine carries with it two chief corollaries: Each state must have a government which fairly represents the whole people, and both must be organized for industry and commerce, in short for peace, and not war, as its proper end and aim. Autocratic, militaristic Germany could never work to any common purpose eventually with industrial democracies. Mankind must be "all slave or all free." Even Germany realized that its true motives and purposes must be hypocritically denied and hidden; but this was always clumsily and unsuccessfully done.

The atrocities of the war, though unheard of in all former history, are still minor matters. The essential horror is the long-known—and permitted—existence of a mighty state bent on ruthless warfare as a means to world-tyranny; a state in which absolutely every ounce of energy was "militarized." We need not ask who began or willed war. To a Germany, war was a necessity of its nature, was indeed "refreshing and joyous." To have observed any restrictions of humanity would have been a confession that war is an evil. To punish the Kaiser and even his leading agents, for overstepping the proper limits of war, would be utterly inadequate. An organization for the destruction of the lives, property or freedom of peace-loving neighbors is in itself the crime of crimes.

The dream of William was that of Alexander, of Augustus, of Napoleon, to unify mankind under his own resistless superstate, which again should be under his personal control. The World-League of free industrial states is the antithesis of this ideal. We should have foreseen its necessity; but man is ever shortsighted.

War between nations is in truth a mere survival of the old legalized "trial by combat" as an appeal to Heaven for justice. The state, which forbids it to individuals, should itself be stopped from recourse to it. The one vital question is: Do we believe in international justice? If so, we must create the means to enforce it. The body of delegates in Paris, or any single body of men, is utterly inadequate to that immense task.

A "WILSONIAN" ITALIAN ATTITUDE

AN article in the May number of the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse*, on "Some Aspects of the Italo-Slav Problem," is encouraging, as a typical illustration of the free forum which Switzerland is to offer, not only to the official meetings and counsels of the World-League, but, no less, for the frank and temperate international discussion, by philosophic observers and students, who can "look before and after," of these burning questions of the hour, out of which so many a war has suddenly burst forth.

The writer, Signor Aldo Dami, speaking as a Wilsonist and an Italian "moderate," uses the French language, and addresses his international audience, frankly conceding that he speaks for barely a tenth of his own people. He also indicates that his views, and those who hold them, are to-day promptly put to silence in any public gathering of Italians, and are hardly regarded as more loyal than pure pacifism is with ourselves.

A reference to Dante, as having traced the natural frontier of Italy "along the Alps from the Varo to the Quarnero," puts the problem on a fitting historical basis. Quarnero is the deep inlet just south of Trieste, with the great naval station Pola at its entrance (on the northerly point) and Fiume at the head of the long gulf.

When the "secret" treaty of London was signed, the Austrian Empire was not even thought of as perishable or divisible. Croatia was an integral part of it. When Trieste should be redeemed, Fiume was to be left as the one "casement opening" on the perilous Adriatic, not merely for Croatia or Austro-Hungary, but for Slavic Russia behind them no less. But, as an offset, Italy was to have something like half the long Eastern Adriatic coast stretching thence southward, known as Dalmatia, where the ports are in truth already capitalized, utilized, even inhabited very largely by Italians; but only Slavs hold the hinterland (this one German word is being accepted generally as indispensable).

Now, in the terrible days when the Austrian invasion was barely stopped with instant and decisive Anglo-French aid, at the Piave, and all Lombardy was in deadly peril, the Croats are said to have been far more lawless and murderous toward helpless captives than even the Hungarians.

And yet, with kaleidoscopic suddenness,

the Croats are to-day an integral part of greater Serbia, the worst sufferer of all the Allied peoples. And to-day, too, the Italians are in the invidious position of claiming from friendly Jugo-Slavia, which is, after all, Serbia, all they exacted from frightened England as the price of their alliance—and the bay window, Fiume, also!

The proposal of the "moderate tenth," on the other hand, is: "We must have Fiume, a purely Italian city from its origin, but we do not want Dalmatia, which is the natural outlet of the Balkan Slavs." The large minority of Italian city coast-dwellers in Dalmatia, who would thus be turned over—with adequate safeguards—to the rule of a Slavic state, are estimated at only 25,000, while this same arrangement is to leave 300,000 Slavs (among them fully a quarter of all the Slovenians) under Italian rule.

Whether Mr. Wilson would accept this avowed adherent as an orthodox disciple is at least doubtful. The Italian war-cry—for generations, indeed—has been "Trent and Trieste must be redeemed." Whether the true curve of the Alpes Maritimæ, or the natural sphere of Italian influence politically, may be rightfully slipped fifty miles farther south to gather in Pola and Fiume, is a pretty question of physiography, and of international justice, which even Dante may not settle by a resounding rhyme. Even this "moderate" glides quietly down-coast still another hundred miles, calmly grasping the "purely Italian" port of Zara also!

The editor "cannot spare space" for a rejoinder by the "Annexationists"—or 90 per cent. majority of the Italian nation,—but is clearly dissatisfied with the writer's description of them as the ignorant, inflammable mob, misled by the partisans of Sonnino, who is declared to have "learned nothing and forgotten nothing" (like a true Bourbon) in five years, or, indeed, since the cold-blooded diplomats of 1815 sliced up Europe on purely mathematical lines! What civilization Dalmatia knows, like its trading dialect, is credited to the Venetians. Historically, the claim is sound enough. But then, the three flagpoles before San Marco once upheld the three subject-flags of Morea, Crete and Cyprus! So that argument is as rash as that of d'Annunzio, who demands the restoration of Augustus' and Trajan's world-empire.

But, the editor declares, there is no real

imperialism, militarism, or desire for annexation as such, in Italy at all. While Bissolati, among living statesmen, Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi, among the dead, are counted among the "Moderates," even the opposing majority stand on such grounds, we are told, as these:

(1) Italy's extreme claims still leave to Greater Serbia five-sixths of the Dalmatian coast.

(2) It would allow the Slavs at least nine ports, among them Buccari, Seyna, and others of the first rank.

(3) This is a question of life and death for the Italian coast-dwellers, but Slavs have nothing to fear under Italian rule (!)

(4) Italy, for naval strategic reasons, must control both shores of the Adriatic, hav-

ing on her own side no strong natural fortress between Venice and Brindisi.

(5) The persistent hostility of the Slavs, their threats to seize Trieste, Gorizia, even Udine, compel military and naval measures to "assure" all the results of the war.

The essayist even reveals, despite himself, prejudices, or fears, hardly less perturbing. He, too, believes the Croats still hate all Italians—and even, no less bitterly, their preponderant Serbian kinsfolk. He, too, draws sharply at the Rhine and the Adriatic the frontiers of "Western Europe"—thus accepting the most dangerous theory that all "Mitteleuropa," with Russia, and much more behind it, is a possible unified opponent to the great Western block of states that, with our aid, won the war.

A FRENCH PLEA FOR A POLISH DANZIG

IN the *Revue de Paris* of May 15 Admiral Degouy writes with full knowledge, strong convictions, and true sailor's frankness, on "The Question of Danzig." His present article is really but one of a series. It throws a clear light in two directions on the imperial advantages of Danzig as a naval and mercantile center and on the total diversity of view between the French "defensive" policy and the Wilsonian plans. Indeed there is no disguise as to this cleft. "One sees, yet again, that the Americans do not distinguish between Prussia and Germany at all." To us, again, are credited: "a sort of confidence in German good faith, and illusions as to the efficacy of the League of Nations, apart from the land and sea forces which would be indispensable to it." The "amazing blindness" of the "English statesmen and navy" sets them in the same pillory. On the contrary,

such cannot be the view of Europeans, particularly of the French, who are endowed with some foresight, and who consent to pay attention to the lessons of a past which they have attentively studied!

By exclusion, we are mere savages, untaught to "look before and after" at all.

The admiral touched at Danzig about the year 1900, and had a remarkably well-informed French guide, perhaps a consular personage, while there. The "hinterland" was, and is, so purely Slavic that the utter

misnomer "West Prussia" is condemned, in favor of the old Polish name Pomerelia. Even in the city the relatively few Germans are either officials, needlessly multiplied to serve chiefly as propagandists, or bankrupt and discredited merchants from German cities subsidized there that they may crowd out the Slavic business men. When, in 1870, the French fleet hove in sight, the townsfolk openly spread a banquet for their welcome guests under the very guns of the shore batteries. A year or two later, when one of the five billions of francs was distributed among German cities to be spent for public works, the Danzigans were compelled to make similar local improvements, but told to go to "their French friends" for help in meeting the cost.

Danzig takes pride in her long prominence in the Hanseatic League, and the civic independence which she long kept intact, afterward, under Polish hegemony. From Prussian aggression she has acquired a lasting hatred only. Even to-day the very merchants of German stock and speech have refused to sign any protest against full restoration of the city to Poland.

And yet:

Some of our allies are exciting themselves, it seems, over the thought of the German "irredentism" which might be aroused by so just and obvious an action. The German is incapable of any such permanent feeling, anyway. If he is protected in his material interests, he adapts him-

self with docile fatalism to any environment. This is illustrated by the left bank of the Rhine, where Germans, in blood and speech, had in fifteen years become so attached to France that they openly desired the victory of the French in 1870.

But let us not deal with abstract principles and too sweeping generalizations. There are certain things that must be brought about.

Thus, Poland must be restored. Full and free access to the one true international highway, the salt water, is a prime necessity to every strong nation, in order to obtain at first hand those necessities which she cannot herself produce. Poland formerly reached the Baltic not merely at Danzig and the Vistula-delta generally, but also farther east on a long coast-stretch of Courland, thus completely encircling the duchy of Prussia and cutting it off from Pomerania and Brandenburg. So the much-debated seaward "corridor" with Danzig itself, is but a partial restoration of long-standing conditions. The proposed union of Lithuania with Poland may yet complete the circle about Königsberg again.

Through the Vistula and its great branches, which are united by canals to still other rivers, Danzig is the natural outlet for a country, prevailing level and fertile, as large as France. She should overshadow easily both Königsburg to eastward and Stettin on the west, and hold her own even against Hamburg as a mighty commercial metropolis. A glance at the map will show not only the excellent inner harbor with abundant anchorage, but the immense natural roadstead protected from all but the southerly land-winds, formed by that great natural breakwater, the twenty-five-miles-long sandy spit of Hela.

But the real problem is not a mere question of peaceful international trade. The German propaganda continues, with impunity, to-day, under the eyes of the Peace Conference. In this very last April, the Prussian local authorities arrested, on a charge of *high treason*, a number of Polish citizens of Danzig, who had openly advocated the return of the city to Poland, already foreshadowed in the discussions at Paris. A free port, nominally protected by the Warsaw government, or the still remoter forceless League of Nations, will never be safe from Prussian plots, or even from a Prussian fleet moored at Pillau, two hours' sail from Neufahrwasser.

It is absolutely necessary to the safety of us French, of us Europeans, that Danzig be unservedly and integrally a part of the Polish state. It must preserve, also, as under the Prussian régime, the double character of a naval and commercial port.

Russia may never regain the position—which the mistakes of the Allies in 1916-17 permitted her to lose—as an effective eastern barrier against Prussian plots and propaganda. Only Poland can effectively take her place. She will be, for a long time at best, too weak to maintain herself unaided. Only through the Baltic can she be promptly reached and supported by the great maritime states of the League—or, rather, of the Allies. The protection of Danzig must begin at Kiel. Though Denmark, economically, will still be closely related to Germany, she must be wholly relieved of any fear of her military and naval forces. South of the Kiel Canal, again, a "somewhat enlarged" revival of the Kingdom of Hanover is desirable as its guardian, a sort of "German Netherlands," no less secure against any renewal of Prussian aggression.

Admiral Degouty deplores the failure of the Allies to accept, and encourage, just after the Armistice began, the widespread desire to create a large number of independent republics throughout Germany. He still advocates, and had urged in a council so early as the autumn of 1916, that Prussia must not only be isolated as far as possible, but forced to restore to the other German states all the lands she has wrested from them since 1750.

It will be evident, even from this rapid outline, that Admiral Degouty holds convictions as to the continued danger from Prussia, and the need of vigorous intervention in the internal affairs of Germany, which have hardly been given hearing at all on this side the Atlantic. His views of the Baltic as the "Mediterranean of the North," perhaps even the true key to world-control, of Danzig as incomparably the greatest of its ports, and, apparently, the proper center for the adequate naval armament which the World-League should support, are hardly more than hinted in his present paper, and will make his forthcoming treatment of the subject one of very great interest.

The Admiral does not hesitate to accuse "certain allies" of indifference, apathy, and a lack of "aggressive mentality," and their "associates" (*i. e.*, the United States) of an ignorance of fundamental European problems.

THE WENDS: A SLAVIC REMNANT IN GERMANY

ONE of the interesting paradoxes of the moment is the contrast between the efforts we are making in the United States to obliterate racial and linguistic distinctions in behalf of "Americanization," and the sharpening of the same sort of distinctions in Europe under the influence of the Wilsonian gospel of self-determination. The governments of the Old World have always had a difficult "melting-pot" problem on their hands. At present the various racial elements that have hitherto been struggling against assimilation behold a golden opportunity not only to assert their individuality, but also to gain political independence.

Among the submerged peoples lately heard from in this connection are the Wends of Germany—a small remnant of a Slavic population that once spread over a large part of the lands that are now purely German. Centuries of bloody warfare gradually reduced them to a group of about 150,000 people dwelling in the district of Lusatia (Lausitz), which is part in Saxony and part in Prussia. Last January a Wendish national committee undertook to set up an independent state, formed by the union of Upper and Lower Lusatia. This event furnishes the occasion for an article on the Wends in *Larousse Mensuel* (Paris), by Henri Froidevaux.

In the accompanying map, which is reproduced from the article mentioned, the shaded area shows the region in which people of Wendish speech are now in the majority, while the dotted line shows approximately the linguistic boundary of the Wends in the middle of the sixteenth century. There are two Wendish dialects, spoken respectively in Upper and Lower Lusatia, so unlike that intercommunication between the people of the two regions is difficult; and there are also two distinct literary dialects and literatures.

The Wends of Lusatia are also known as Sorbs, or Serbs. In 1886 they numbered 176,000, and in 1900 only 156,000. They are, says M. Froidevaux, surrounded on all sides and penetrated in all directions by the Germans, upon whom they have been dependent politically, economically, and even in the matter of religion, since the great majority of them are Lutherans. They were also subject to service in the German army. For many years the Germans have persisted in ignoring them as a distinct racial element



FRONTIER OF 1550 (ANDRÉE)
ACTUAL TERRITORY OF THE WENDS

in the population. Thus the Wendish names of towns in Lusatia (Chotebuz-Kottbus; Budysin-Bautzen; etc.) have been dropped from Baedeker's guidebooks since 1860.

Nevertheless, says M. Froidevaux,

in spite of so many difficulties, so many reasons of all kinds for their disappearance, the Serbs of Lusatia have managed so far to maintain their separate existence. Their physical type distinguishes them sharply from the Germans who surround them. "One is struck by this fact," says Vidal-Lablache, "when, on Sundays, in the streets and the churches of Dresden, one sees these men, with their long cloaks and high boots; easily singled out in the crowd of Germans by their smaller heads, their hair of a dull blond color, and often by an expression on their faces of sleepy gentleness." Their language, moreover, ensures their national individuality. That it persists is due to the efforts of certain enlightened patriots who, about 1840, awoke the popular consciousness, founded a society at Bautzen—the "Masica Serbska"—for perpetuating the language and literature, started a journal, and introduced the Slavic language into the primary schools. However, the situation of the Serbs of Lusatia has remained precarious, not only in Prussia, where the government showed it no consideration, but also in Saxony, prior to the end of the world war.

NEW FRANCO-AMERICAN PRESS RELATIONS

NEW harmony of thought and opinion, and the eradication of petty national grievances among the English-speaking peoples is being rapidly fostered with the hope of closer comity between all nations; and it is along these lines that Henri-Martin Barzun, himself a member of the French group of journalists, makes a plea for greater unity between the French and American press in an article in *Editor and Publisher*. The French, unlike our so-called "capitalistic" press, devote journalism to political ends rather than the commercial. Incidentally, in a country one-tenth the size of ours, the form as well as the substance is different. The French newspaper, or *feuille*, is a single sheet folded to four pages, and carrying practically no advertising, published once a day—in marked contrast with our voluminous dailies, numerous editions, and heavy Sunday supplements.

The French press, published and edited by the intellectuals, practically carried the day for the French Revolution, and it is one of the traditions of French journalism that practically every man in public office is the owner or editor of a newspaper. This tradition springs from the fact that the French Revolution placed at the head of the government, instead of royalty, thinkers, writers, poets and orators, who were journalists by profession or at heart. Mr. Barzun says:

Indeed, in no other country have newspaper men more influence upon public opinion, precisely because the press in France is more devoted to things political than to "business." Thus, the very thing which in a sense represents the weakness of French journalism—namely, its lack of a commercial basis—is at the same time what gives it the great force it exercises upon the public and national mind.

Clemenceau himself, at the age of twenty, founded *Le Travail*, at forty-five *La Justice*, at sixty *L'Aurore*, and at seventy *L'Homme Libre*. A fair record, we dare say. Stephen Pichon, now his Foreign Minister, was Clemenceau's assistant in the direction of *La Justice*, before becoming editor of *Le Petit Journal*. . . . Gambetta, who was the Clemenceau of the war of 1870-71, founded and personally directed *La Republique*, which still exists; President Poincaré was in his time a brilliant journalist, and still is the president of the most important professional association of the French press.

Paris, of course, is the headquarters of the profession, and such papers as *Le Petit Jour-*

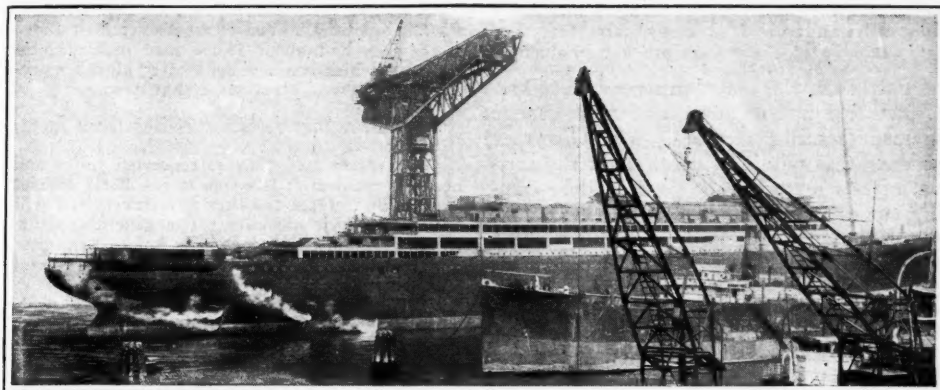
nal, *Le Matin*, and *Le Petit Parisien* have a daily circulation of over a million copies each. Other papers get their power not so much from circulation as from the weight of their influence.

The French press was hard hit by the war and by the censorship, but with the removal of the censorship and the reimportation of paper from America, it looks forward to an entirely new era of prosperity, and it is entirely probable that it will be run more with a view to commercial success, although not in any discord with the essentially intellectual note which dominates, and will forever dominate the journalism of that country. The large Paris dailies are rapidly forming connections with prominent papers in this country, and the provincial press is carrying out its pre-war plans for syndication and common exploration of information.

The Havas Agency, which is connected with the Associated press, and which is the oldest and best organized news service in France, is the principal medium through which American news is disseminated to hundreds of newspapers in France. The Agence Radio stands next in importance and is connected with the United Press, distributing American news which it formerly obtained from the International News Service. The latter organization now supplies the *Petit Journal*, one of the most important newspapers in France. The Agence Fournier and the Agence Information are local companies which handle French national news.

Formerly, France was interested chiefly in European news and Russia, to the neglect of America; but the time has come when she must have closer press connections with this country, and already the French Press Bureau has sprung into being for the exchange of social, political and economic news between America and France. Mr. Barzun, reviewing the readjustment of international relations, says:

France, henceforth, must have an "American policy" directed toward Washington, while America will have to have an "European policy" directed toward Paris, and thus a tremendous new field of activity is opened to the enterprise of the press and news services of the two countries corresponding to the powerful bonds of interests created by the war of yesterday and bound to be strengthened by the peace of to-morrow.



THE "BISMARCK," THE LARGEST SHIP EVER BUILT, LYING IN HAMBURG HARBOR
(This great vessel had not quite reached completion when the war began)

GERMANY'S BUSINESS PROSPECTS

WILL Germany "come back" commercially after peace is signed? What are Germans planning to do, as competitors in the world's markets? Will the new German Government seek to control trade policy? Is there danger to other nations from the "dumping" of German stocks? These are a few of the questions asked and answered by Mr. Samuel Crowther, the Financial Editor of *System* (Chicago), in the June number of that periodical. Mr. Crowther was in Germany during the month of March last, and visited the most important cities and industrial centers. The information that he gained during this visit is of the greatest interest and importance to all American business men.

According to Mr. Crowther's observation, labor costs in Germany are relatively low. He believes that they will soon be lower than in either Great Britain or America. The value of the German mark is, of course, greatly inflated at the present time, but even taking this into account, wages remain lower than in other countries. Industrial Germany, however, is not functioning at more than ten per cent. of its power. The blockade prevents raw materials from reaching the factories, and even if goods could be produced, the railroads could not transport them, and very few ships would be available for exporting to foreign countries. Chemical factories are still at work, and also special departments of certain industries, but for the most part German industry is "shut down, or is going through motions merely to keep the forces together."

The railroads need only rolling stock, and that is gradually being supplied. As to ships, all the merchant shipbuilding ceased with the war, or hulls were carried only to the point of launching and then allowed to rust until the end of the war. At Hamburg Mr. Crowther saw the great *Bismarck*, the largest ship in the world. He found it streaked with rust, but needing only paint and engines (which were already built) to complete its equipment. He saw dozens of other hulls tied up amid the submarines in the Blohm-Voss yard. These could be made into carrier ships in a few months' time. Even with all the losses, there were some 170 ocean-going ships in the harbor, ready to sail after a few days' work. About 40,000 men were at work on them.

One point, which Mr. Crowther emphasizes in his article, is the fact that German industries do not have to change from a war to a peace basis, for the country, as a whole, never went on a war basis, in the manner of England and France.

Most of the plants which did have war orders directly in their peace lines have increased their productive power. For instance, the Benz plant at Mannheim had 5500 men before the war and rose to 7500 during the war, when they made great numbers of motor lorries, military cars, and airplane engines. When I visited the plant, which is a thoroughly modern one, they were working full time with 6500 men, and the manager told me that they had orders from Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in addition to private orders in Germany sufficient to keep them busy for nearly two years. All of these orders had accumulated during the war. He said that although they had by no means doubled their

plant area, they had installed so much machinery and had standardized so many parts that they were capable of twice their pre-war production.

This was the only instance that Mr. Crowther found of any considerable change in manufacturing methods. Mr. Crowther predicts that within a month after the arrival of raw materials the goods will be coming out of Germany. He is convinced that German manufacturers, were they permitted to do so, could supply the British home market more quickly than could the British themselves.

The effect of the war has been to drive the small manufacturer out of business. Before the war Essen alone had 9000 manufacturing concerns employing fewer than ten men each. Now there are only 3000 of these small concerns. The trend has been toward centralization of capital and facilities, both in manufacturing and in banking. What use will be made of these large plants? Mr. Crowther gives a hint of this in the following paragraph:

Take first the big war concerns; the best known of these is Krupps. We think of Krupps as solely a munition depot, but it is far more than that. In peace times something like 90 per cent. in weight of their products were for uses other than war. They made all kinds of heavy forgings, railway material, axles, propeller shafts, springs, steel castings, and plates; but outside of rifles and carriages, railway axles, and wheels, they did no finished work. During the war they accumulated a great quantity of machinery and now, some-

what against their inclinations, they are going in for finished work. When I went over their Essen works they had about 30,000 men making locomotives—which is a new departure; all other portions of the vast plant were shut down.

Mr. Crowther feels assured of these facts:

(1) German trade has no concerted policy and does not want any; it wants to run itself without outside interference from the government and will have nothing of subsidies. The general opinion is that the subsidies did more harm than good and also that cartels were not particularly useful and should not be revived.

(2) The notion that the Germans would trade under a quasi-military system or with a uniform policy is the result of a hectic imagination. It has never even been given serious consideration in Germany and is considered only a fairly interesting absurdity.

(3) There are no German stocks to "dump" and not the slightest intention of selling in any market below cost although, if the home tariff is high enough, concerns will dispose of their surplus stocks outside of Germany at prices cheaper than they will charge the home trade.

(4) The German tariff will make foreign competition inside Germany nearly impossible except in special lines not made so well in Germany.

The German trade of the future will not be as dramatic as it has been pictured. It will not be dramatic at all. But because her merchants, bankers, and manufacturers have both feet squarely on the ground and are prepared to go after profitable business anywhere and on sane lines, Germany is to-day, potentially and after the United States, easily the biggest trade factor in the world.

She is strong because she has no illusions and knows that what she sells in the world will have to be sold on price and merit.

GERMANY'S POLITICAL RENOVATION

HERR HANS BRECHT, writing in a recent number of *Nord und Süd*, on the "New Tasks Before Germany," characterizes the revolution of 1918 as the consequences of the military downfall, and simultaneously as a victory for Social Democracy. The hated Junker rule being thus brought to an end, the backbone of militarism was broken in the process. But that it should have needed four full years, with famine, defeat, and a thousand other evils, to awaken the German out of his political sleep and endow him with the courage of despair, and enable him to achieve the absolutely unbelievable—the overthrow of his idols—is just one more proof of his loyalty and slowness to take action. November 9 will indeed stand alone in the annals of history!

Once before (1848) the throne of Germany tottered. On that occasion the freedom of the people was put in fetters, and the best of the nation were ignominiously banished, or deprived of their posts, or cast into prison, because they fought for freedom and justice. But November 9 of last year saw the rulers crowned "by the grace of God" dragged off their thrones, and it was a truly royal drama when almost at the same hour all the princes of the old *régime* definitely laid down their sceptres. Much was thereby achieved which had hitherto seemed impossible, but there remain new aims and new conflicts to be undertaken before the complete unity of Germany can bring the present period to any sort of harmonious conclusion.

THE DEN OF ZEPPELINS

NORDHOLZ, the German airship station from which nearly all the Zeppelin raids over England were launched, is the subject of an interesting article by Lieut. Lewis R. Freeman, in the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for May 21. Lieutenant Freeman accompanied the Allied Naval Commission on its visit to the German Zeppelin bases, after the signing of the armistice. He thus had the best possible opportunities for learning about the resources and present condition of the German Zeppelin industry.

The greatest and most modern of Germany's Zeppelin aerodromes is that at Nordholz, near Cuxhaven, in the Elbe estuary. Lieutenant Freeman refers to the persistent idea in London that airship stations had been constructed in Belgium and that these alternated with those of Germany in dispatching raiders across the North Sea to England. But it is clear that the labor and expense involved in building such a station as Nordholz would have precluded the idea of establishing an installation of that size in any territory that Germany did not feel certain of controlling permanently.

There were other German airship stations within cruising distance of England, but Nordholz was so much the best equipped, especially in the first years of the war, when Zeppelin raiding was the most active, that the most of the work, and by long odds the most effective of it, was done from there. There were grim tales to be told by that band of hard-eyed, straight-mouthed, bull-necked pilots—all that survived some scores of raids over England and some hundreds of reconnaissance flights over the North Sea—who received and conducted round the Naval Commission party, though we did not meet upon a footing that made it possible more than to listen to the account of an occasional incident.

Lieutenant Freeman was especially impressed by the evidences on every hand of the high morale that prevailed in the German air service, even down to the last:

For all the barbarity of many of their raids there was splendid stuff in the officers and crews of the Zeppelins which engaged in the campaign of frightfulness against England, and it is idle to deny it. In a better cause or even in worthier work for an indifferent cause the skill and courage repeatedly displayed would have been epic. Considering what these airships faced on every one of their later raids—what their commanders and crews must have known were the odds against them after the night when the destruction of the Zeppelin over Cuffley in September, 1916, proved that the British had effectually solved the problem of igniting the hydrogen of the inner balloons—one cannot but conclude that the morale

of the whole personnel must have been very high during even this trying period. If it had not been high there would undoubtedly have been mutinies at the airship stations, such as are known to have occurred on so many occasions among the submarine crews. Even in the light of present knowledge there is nothing to indicate that there had ever been serious trouble in getting Zeppelin crews for the most hazardous of raids.

The sheds that make up the Nordholz station are of truly gigantic size:

Of modern buildings of utility, such as factories and exhibition structures, I do not recall one that is so impressive as these in sheer immensity. Yet the proportions of the sheds are so good that constant comparison with some familiar object of known size, such as a man, alone puts them in their proper perspective.

The sheds are built in pairs, standing side by side, and on a plan which has brought each pair on the circumference of a circle two kilometers in diameter. The chord of the arc drawn from one pair of sheds to the next in sequence is a kilometer in length, while the same distance separates each pair on the circumference from the huge revolving shed in the center of the circle. The whole plan has something of the mystic symmetry of an ancient temple of the sun. Of the half dozen pairs of sheds necessary to complete the circle four had been constructed and were in use. Each shed was built to house two airships, or four for the pair. This gave a capacity of sixteen Zeppelins for the four pairs of sheds, while the two housed in the revolving shed in the center brought the total capacity of the station up to eighteen—a larger number, I believe, than were ever over England at one time.

Scarcely less impressive than the immensity of the sheds and the broad conception of the general plan of the station was the solidity of construction. Everything, from the quarters of the men and the officers to the hangars themselves, seemed built for all time, and to play its part in the fulfillment of some far-reaching plan. Costly and scarce as asphalt must have been in Germany the many miles of roads connecting the various sheds were laid deep with it, and—as I had a chance to see where repairs were going on—on a heavy base of concrete. The sheds were steel-framed, concrete-floored, and with pressed asbestos sheet figuring extensively in their sides. All the daylight admitted—as we saw presently—filtered through great panes of yellow glass in the roof, shutting out the ultra-violet rays of the sun, which had been found to cause airship fabric to deteriorate rapidly.

The barracks of the men were of brick and concrete, and were built with no less regard for appearance than utility. So, too, the officers' quarters and the casino, and the large and comfortable-looking houses for married officers. All had been built very recently, many in the by no means ineffective new-art style, to the simple solidity of which the Germans seemed to have turned in reaction from the Gothic.

Beyond all doubt Germany was planning years ahead with Nordholz, as to both war and peace.

ORDNANCE SUPPLIES FOR THE AMERICAN ARMY IN FRANCE

THE actual amount of munitions that the United States Army, through its Ordnance Department, was able to supply to its forces overseas is not well understood or appreciated by many Americans. A recent article of semi-official character in *The Stars and Stripes*, a paper published in France by the soldiers of the American Expeditionary Force, is not only interesting but highly informing in this respect. According to this authority:

On November 11, 1918, the Ordnance Department had actually placed on the American lines 3500 cannon of all calibres, which, during periods of great artillery activity, were actually handing Jerry 6000 tons of hot steel every twenty-four hours. These guns took 7,000,000 shots at the enemy. There were also on that day 2000 trench mortars helping to make things miserable for the retreating enemy and 2,000,000 hand grenades ready to throw. And more than 100,000 machine guns and automatic rifles reinforced the fire of the million service rifles the doughboys were peppering the Boche with on that eventful day. Nor was this all. There was more and plenty where this came from. Cleverly tucked away and camouflaged from front lines back to base ports there were waiting more than 4,500,000 rounds of shrapnel and high explosive shells and 640,000,000 rounds of small arms and machine-gun ammunition. . . . Seven thousand ordnance tractors and artillery repair and supply trucks were put into action and rendered invaluable service.

The armored tank was perhaps one of the greatest triumphs of the war and our Ordnance Department put 300 of these in the big offensive. Ordnance experts regard as the outstanding accomplishments of this department of the A. E. F. the motorization of our artillery, the system of mobile repair shops maintained with the armies, and the arming of all airplanes for American squadrons. The importance of keeping the guns at the front in first-class fighting trim can readily be realized. The motorized shops for that purpose that kept in the wake of the armies and tendered first aid to all artillery and arms were a distinctive American contribution to the war. There were at the time of the armistice a number of these heavy mobile repair-shop organizations and twenty-five mobile ordnance repair shops operating with the armies. They could doctor up any kind of gun and get it back in commission unless it needed major repairs.

Some of the notable work of the Ordnance Department was done in arming planes for the American front. The aircraft armament shops were at Orly and Romorantin, the two airplane assembly plants of the A. E. F. The adaptation of American armament to European planes was a knotty problem consummately handled. The Vickers, Lewis, and Marlin machine guns with which our planes were armed proved highly

satisfactory in combat. The supply of aircraft armament, ammunition, and drop bombs at all times met the demand, and to quote the verdict of experts, was of "proven efficiency against the enemy." . . . The Ordnance Department, indeed, before the war ended, had equipped the forces at the front with veritable flying fortresses fitted with eight guns instead of two or four. Four of these guns projected through the floor of the plane; two fore and two aft.

The base section of the A. E. F. was the great reservoir of ordnance materials and facilities into which the initial ordnance supplies were poured. The intermediate section was the regulating mechanism taking up fluctuations of supply and demand. The advance section was the sensitive system in direct touch with the Army and responsive to its needs from day to day. For the purpose of maintenance and reserves, it was planned to keep forty-five days' supply in the base section, thirty days' supply in the intermediate, and fifteen days' supply in the advance section. This ideal was never fully realized, but it was well approached in the summer of 1918.

The ammunition storage projects alone of the A. E. F. covered enough of France to make a good sized county in New England. The depot at St. Loubes was two miles long and nearly two miles wide. The ammunition storage project at Donges extended along the two sides of a triangle for nearly four miles. Poey deserves a place on the map of the A. E. F.; here thousands of tons of French, British and American ammunition were received and stored, reclassified and sent to the front.

To make repairs to guns and ordnance equipment at organization and training centers or instruction camps, more than twenty-five repair shops were equipped and maintained in the S. O. S. The greatest of these, at Mehun, was itself so designed as to handle repairs to all artillery and ordnance equipment for an army of 2,000,000 men. It covered fifty acres of ground, was manned by 6000 technically trained soldiers, and could remake anything from a tank or a piece of heavy artillery to a mess kit. It was designed for a capacity of relining 1245 guns, repairing 2000 ordnance gun vehicles and 3000 ordnance motor vehicles and overhauling 150,000 rifles, 5000 pistols and 20,000 machine guns per month.

The work of the Ordnance Department in the A. E. F. was neither a small nor an easy job. Some idea of its extent can be estimated from the fact that it handled more than 500,000 tons of material and spent more than \$50,000,000 and made every ton and every dollar count.

To their credit it should be said in conclusion, that this program was carried through by a little band of 1603 officers and 12,205 enlisted men, whose work was as hard as any in the Army, and as hazardous, even if in the S. O. S. According to the schedules of requirements the ordnance force of the A. E. F. should have been 2145 officers and 35,330 enlisted men, while the program for July 1, 1919, called for 3454 officers and 70,550 enlisted men.

CUBAN CRITICISM OF THE PLATT AMENDMENT

AN article in *Cuba Contemporánea* gives expression to the views held by some cubans as to the so-called Platt Amendment, and as to the best means of securing its cancellation. The writer asserts that it was accepted by the Cubans in the hope that it might be abrogated after a time.

In their impatience to attain the independence for which they had so long struggled, the Cubans did not perhaps duly consider the scope of the measure—certainly time was lacking for this—although they may have been persuaded of its necessity as a temporary agreement.

The writer freely admits that the United States intended to render Cuba a special service in the treaty, with its annexed amendment, but he thinks that the results have failed to realize these good intentions, and that the treaty only reflects the wishes of one of the contracting parties, not of both.

With the passage of time and the growth of the spirit of universal justice, the Platt Amendment becomes for the succeeding generations of Cubans a source of irritation. The writer likens it to a thorn thrust into Cuba's heart. He fails to see the need for any additional provisions in Cuba's case outside the bounds of the Monroe Doctrine, and he regards the amendment as constituting a departure from the rule laid down for the other Latin-American countries.

A weak nation may endure, through its weakness or through necessity, the intervention of a strong nation; but it can never be agreeable for any nation, more than for any individual, to be subject to the menace implied in the fact that the stronger party declares itself ever ready to intervene in its internal affairs.

In Cuba, as in so many American countries, there was no period of transition. From the colonial stage it passed at once to independence, and in this last stage it has not learned the lesson of gradual development, for the opinion prevails that this development has already been realized. Without a thought of Cuba's lack of preparation, its leaders gave it a constitution, very modern in certain respects, and electoral laws antiquated in some ways and perhaps a century in advance of the age in other ways.

Among the Cubans, at least ninety-nine

out of a hundred of those composing the liberal and conservative parties are not only ignorant of the programs of these parties, but have scarcely an idea of what conservatism and liberalism signify. Personal sympathies and the wish to enjoy power are the only things that separate them.

The politicians, on their side, have as their sole and only mission the task of getting votes from the masses, having recourse to all means to attain this end. Unluckily, the beaten party does not gracefully accept defeat, but is ready to resort to force as a last argument, with the result of bloody conflicts, at once shameful and costly.

This state of things makes the Cuban writer declare that an intervention of the United States in the elections of some of the Latin-American countries, and the support of the United States Government for the officials so elected would have prevented much trouble in Spanish America. If in Cuba the help of foreign experts has been sought for military training and in other matters, he does not see why there should be any hesitation in seeking the advice and supervision of experts in electoral affairs. If the different parties could agree to this, it would put an end to Cuba's troubles, to her basic troubles, for in reality it is the necessity for accepting the electoral decisions that is a chief cause of dissension among the inhabitants.

This being accomplished, the next step could be a request for the immediate abrogation of the present treaty. The assumption of electoral supervision would coincide with the cancellation of the Platt Amendment. It would be a proof of good sense on the part of the Cubans and of their sincere friendship for the United States.

The logical and reasonable course would be to conclude a special treaty, renewable and modifiable every ten years, a treaty that would unite Cuba and the United States just as a certain ancient treaty leagued Portugal with England, provided such an agreement should be compatible with the future League of Nations.

In conclusion the writer asks whether it would not be unpatriotic to hesitate between a policy that might temporarily hurt Cuban *amour propre*, and one that offends it permanently.

ALASKA'S "TEN THOUSAND SMOKES"

ACCORDING to an Act of Congress of June 8, 1906, the President may "declare by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic and scenic interest that are situated upon the lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States to be national monuments, and may reserve as parts thereof parcels of land." National monuments are, therefore, closely akin to national parks, though generally of smaller area. The latest addition to the list of these reservations is the Katmai National Monument, established by Presidential proclamation of Sept. 24, 1918.

In June, 1912, occurred the tremendous explosive eruption of Mount Katmai, in Alaska. The same year the National Geographic Society sent an expedition to explore the volcano and the surrounding country. A number of subsequent expeditions have been sent to the same region by the Society, and the largest and best-equipped of all of them, led by Prof. R. F. Griggs, is in the field at this writing. More interesting than the volcano itself is a neighboring district discovered by Professor Griggs and his associates and known as the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. This was described at length in the *National Geographic Magazine* (Washington) of February, 1918. It is one of the great natural wonders of the world, and the ebullient volcanic energy of which it is the scene invariably manifests itself in the language used by the National Geographic Society in describing it. Professor Griggs tells us that the valley actually contains, not "ten thousand," but millions of smoking volcanic vents, besides various other wonders, such as Falling Mountain, where falls of rock occur every few minutes. Professor Griggs wrote of this valley last year:

Nothing approaching it has ever been seen by the eye of man. To find a parallel we must search the records of geology, for here we have such a volcanic outburst as the geologist finds recorded in the rocks of the past, but never before has had an opportunity to observe in the world of the present.

The April number of the *National Geographic Magazine* contains a further account of this extraordinary region, and the text of the proclamation by which it was set aside as a national monument. The writer says:

All subsequent study and comparison confirms and deepens the opinion expressed in the accounts of the discovery of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, that this and the associated volcanic phenomena stand preëminent among the wonders of the world. Search through the literature of volcanoes, and conversation with travelers who have visited all the show places of the earth, make it quite certain that nowhere else in the present-day world is there anything at all similar to this supreme wonder.

The unique character of the Ten Thousand Smokes is generally recognized by those who have given the matter consideration. But how long will they last? Are the vents really the chimneys by which exit is found for the emanations from a vast mass of molten magma that, having risen from the depths, has all but burst through the surface bodily? Or, are they due merely to the vaporization of surface water by the heated products of the great eruption? Are they likely to endure for a long time, or will they probably dwindle rapidly, as nature settles down again after the great cataclysm of 1912?

So far as the observations of a single year could do so, the studies of 1917 indicated that they were real volcanoes, whose probable life was to be measured by decades rather than by days or months. But no single season's work could settle these questions. It was considered highly important that a watch be kept on developments the succeeding year. Notwithstanding the absorption of every one's energies in the prosecution of the war last summer, it was considered advisable, therefore, to keep some record of their condition. Two members of the expedition of 1917, Jasper D. Sayre and Paul R. Hagelbarger, volunteered to undertake the journey and to extend the scientific studies begun on the previous expeditions.

When they came up into sight of the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes they saw at once that its volcanoes had not changed appreciably in the year's interval. In almost every detail the Smokes were exactly the same as in 1917.

Falling Mountain continued its remarkable activity, shooting off hundreds of tons of rock daily. Never, during the three seasons since it was discovered, has there elapsed a five-minute interval during periods of observation when its slopes were quiet. Throughout all three years great falls of rock have followed each other in such rapid succession from its lofty precipices that one avalanche of galloping boulders hardly reaches the bottom before another breaks loose from the summit.

The expedition sent out this season includes not only a strong scientific staff, but some expert moving-picture photographers, who hope to secure films that will bring these volcanic mountains to the Mohammeds at home, pending the inauguration of touring facilities that will enable us to gaze upon the Ten Thousand Smokes under the skies of Alaska. As to the prospects of making this region accessible, it is said:

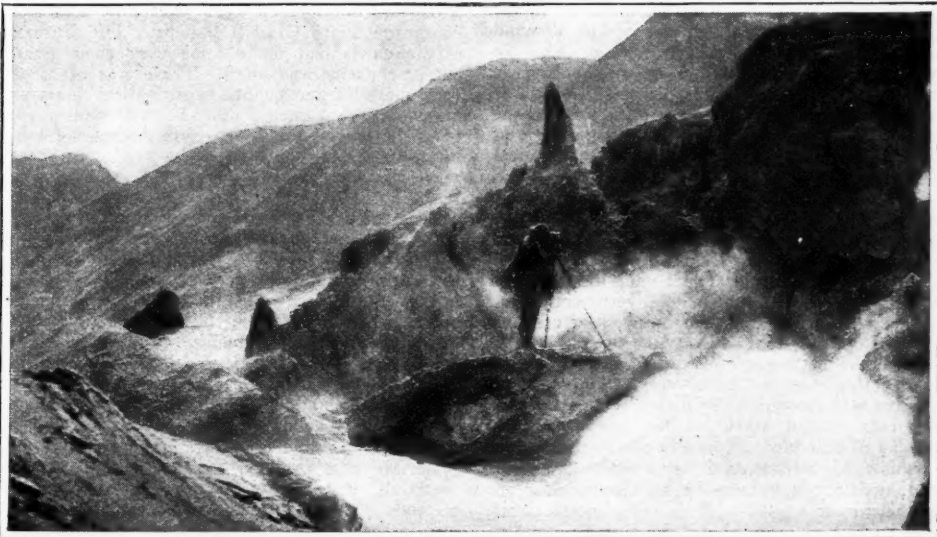


Photograph by P. R. Hagelbarger

NOVARUPTA AND FALLING MOUNTAIN, TWO OF THE GREAT VOLCANOES AMONG THE "TEN THOUSAND SMOKE"
 (During the three years since its discovery Falling Mountain has continued to send avalanches of boulders down its steep slopes in rapid succession. Observers have never had to wait five minutes between discharges)

To many it will appear, doubtless, that the new Katmai National Monument is so remote that there is little possibility of its ever becoming a place of popular resort. But if one will examine the geographical situation of the area, he will see that it is far otherwise. It is much less remote and far more accessible than was the Yellowstone Park at the time of its creation.

From Kukak Bay, which is a fine harbor, suitable for the largest ships, it is but a scant 25 miles overland to the Crater of Katmai. If a suitable road were available, it would, therefore, be easy for one to leave a steamer after breakfast and in an automobile roll through the whole of the volcanic district in a single day, returning to his ship in time for dinner.



Photograph by J. D. Sayre

PHOTOGRAPHING ONE OF THE FUMAROLAS

July—7

MAKING OPTICAL GLASS IN AMERICA

WE have heard much about the manufacturing industries that were created in the United States during the war in order to keep up the supply of products hitherto imported from Europe. The manufacture of optical glass differs in certain aspects from most of our other infant industries. From a commercial point of view it is of relatively small importance. From the point of view of military requirements it was, during the war, of capital importance. Now that the war is over, whether the industry will continue to flourish in America is problematical.

Dr. Heber D. Curtis, who many years ago abandoned the teaching of Latin and Greek to become an astronomer at the Lick Observatory, has lately further diversified his career by directing the optical department of the U. S. Bureau of Standards in Washington. In the *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific* (San Francisco) he records the chapter which American enterprise has added to the history of optical glass; i. e., the special grades of glass used in making all kinds of optical apparatus, such as telescopes, microscopes, camera lenses, and a long list of military appliances, including gun-sights, bore-sighting devices, tank-sights, range-finders, periscopes, bombing-sights, etc. He writes:

Prior to August, 1914, practically all our optical glass came from a few German, English, and French makers. There were some secrets in the industry, but the total annual world demand amounted to only a hundred tons or so. No American firms had cared to go to the expense involved in satisfying this demand, which is relatively very small, from the standpoint of the tonnage of the commercial glass manufacturer. One large optical firm had started to make optical glass for its own use.

The war at once cut off the German supply, and practically all the English and French product was requisitioned by these nations for their own extensive military needs. The United States had been absolutely dependent upon these foreign sources of supply, and our Government found itself suddenly faced by the necessity of creating its own optical glass industry.

That the cutting off of the supply of optical glass threatened to have very serious consequences was recognized by many. Several manufacturers started work on the problem. The Bureau of Standards at once began research work in this field, setting up its experimental furnace and auxiliary apparatus in its Pittsburgh plant in the winter of 1914. This experimental work was pushed vigorously, and the Bureau installed its first one thousand pound pot in the winter of 1916.

The methods of making optical glass, as described by Dr. Curtis, involve the use of various chemicals not found in common glass, the choice of pure materials, very careful control of temperatures, and other details of manufacture.

The excellence of the German product was the result of years of costly research.

Up to about 1888 the optician had only the usual crown and flint glasses at his disposal. It was at this time that the experiments of the Schotts, with the assistance of the firm of Zeiss and liberal subventions from the German government, resulted in the discovery of new types of glass which have made possible great improvements in lens design. Too much credit can scarcely be given these investigators for these improvements.

In addition to the six elements occurring in the older types of optical glass, namely, silicon, potassium, sodium, lead, calcium, and oxygen, the Schotts tried twenty-eight other elements in varying proportions up to at least ten per cent of the whole. Of these new ingredients, which were tested in varying proportions and in many experimental melts, boron and barium proved perhaps of the greatest importance.

Even with the results of European experience at their disposal, the American makers had a great deal of pioneer work to do.

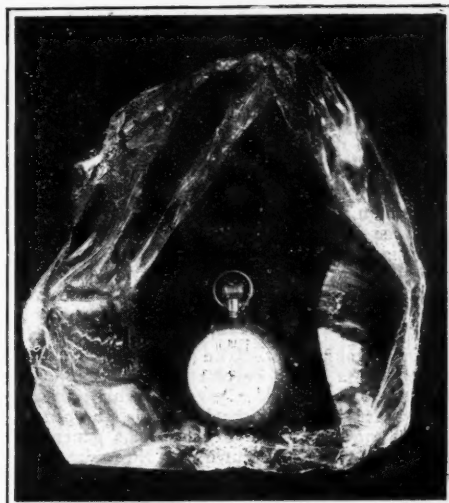
At the time of the declaration of war between the United States and Germany considerable progress had been made. Some success had been attained by the Bausch & Lomb Company, Keuffel & Esser, the Spencer Lens Company, and the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company. The Bureau of Standards had made some very good glass, but its capacity was small. There was need for very much larger quantities of optical glass to meet the requirements of the army and navy, or of the optical firms who were desirous of taking contracts for the instruments needed by these services. Conferences were held, and it was realized that energetic measures must be taken at once for a great expansion of the small optical glass industry. In this work many agencies co-operated. The Bureau of Standards enlarged its Pittsburgh plant, and placed at the disposal of all interested the results of its preliminary experimental work in this field. The glass manufacturers provided enlarged facilities. The Geophysical Laboratory of the Carnegie Institution sent experts to the optical glass factory of the Bureau of Standards and to the Bausch & Lomb plant, studied the methods which had been developed, and gave valuable assistance in the analysis of materials and product, the procuring of pure materials and the development of inspection methods. A valuable method for quickly testing and inspecting the rough blocks by immersion in a tank filled with liquid of the same refractive index as the glass was developed by Mr. Taylor

of the Bureau of Standards Laboratory at Pittsburgh, and is now in use by several firms.

It is a pleasure to state that the emergency was successfully met, and that optical glass of excellent quality was soon being made in quantities sufficient to meet the multifarious needs of our army and navy. The total production was probably in the neighborhood of twenty tons per month. The Bureau of Standards Laboratory at Pittsburgh, running eight single-pot furnaces, had nearly reached its planned capacity of two tons of optical glass per month at the time the armistice was signed. Most of this went to the Navy Optical Shop Annex at Rochester, where the Navy made its own optical parts for many of its instruments; a smaller amount was sent to the Bureau of Standards shops at Washington, where it was used for the needs of the Bureau and for various experimental purposes.

As a scientific enterprise the work of the Bureau of Standards in the production and improvement of optical glass will undoubtedly be continued. The future of the American industry in general is not so clear. Dr. Curtis thinks that

commercial and financial considerations will undoubtedly prove of paramount importance. At least two of the firms at present manufacturing optical glass propose to continue in the field; several others, which have engaged in the work to assist in meeting war needs, will cease manufacture soon. There is little profit in this product, and some patriotism will have to be combined with the profit or loss of the balance sheet. It is not, and never will be, a very large industry,



Photographic Laboratory, Bureau of Standards, Washington, D. C.

A THIRTEEN-POUND PIECE OF MEDIUM FLINT OPTICAL GLASS

(This glass was made by the Pittsburgh Laboratory of the Bureau of Standards. Two faces have been polished for inspection; the watch is seen through four inches of glass.)

important as it is for the scientific independence of the country. We are making in America as good optical glass as that of any foreign firm. Can those firms which will continue in the production of American optical glass meet the post-war competition of foreign cheaper production?

A PROPOSED NEW SAFEGUARD FOR WAGE-EARNERS

"THE tragedy in the situation of the wage-earner in the modern industrial organization," says Prof. E. A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, in a paper prepared for the last meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation, "has been his insecurity. Step by step we have lessened this. Mechanics' lien laws did away with the risk of losing his pay, postal savings banks with the risk of losing his savings, 'safety first' with the risk of preventable industrial accidents, accident compensation with the risk of losing livelihood through injury received while at work, pensions with the risk of a destitute old age. The chief insecurity remaining is that of losing one's job. How can we lessen that?"

Prof. Ross's paper is published in the *Monthly Labor Review*, the substantial and valuable journal issued in Washington by

the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The author finds the answer to the question above quoted in what he describes as a "legal dismissal wage."

The idea of compensating an employee for the loss of his position is far from new, but it has not yet crystallized into anything like an established general practice; at least, in this country. Strange to say, Russia, before the recent upheaval, provided an example of a nation in which the abrupt dismissal of employees without such compensation was illegal. Under the Czar, employers were required to give their workmen either two weeks' notice of dismissal or two weeks' pay beyond the term of employment, and after the revolution of March, 1917, a month of such "leeway" was established by joint agreement in several industries. Some industries went still further and agreed to give the dis-

missed employee one month's pay for every year he had been in the service of the firm. The author expresses the opinion that the "dismissal wage" idea rests on a sound principle and deserves to be considered seriously as a means of stabilizing industrial relations in this country. He says:

In a mature and humane civilization great importance is attached to the economic security of the individual. As the civil service develops, the public employee is protected in various ways against abrupt and arbitrary dismissal. In universities it is customary to notify the instructor a considerable time in advance of the termination of his employment. The professor is usually given a year's notice or else his salary is continued for at least half a year after his services are dispensed with. School boards, hospitals, churches and nongainful organizations generally feel that it is unjust to cut off a faithful servant without giving him a reasonable time to look around for another place. Even from private employers, professional men are usually able to secure an agreement not to end relations without a month or more of notice.

On the other hand, the common practise of American industrial employers is really amazing in its lack of consideration for the worker found superfluous. No doubt many firms take pride in building up and maintaining a stable labor force and give serious attention to the plight of the men they have to drop. But the average employer seems to give himself not the slightest concern as to what is to become of the worker dismissed through no fault of his own. I have heard of a firm, long aware of the necessity of curtailment of the laboring forces, waiting till half an hour before the evening whistle blew to post a notice throwing hundreds of men out of a job for an indefinite time.

Since Americans are not generally inhumane, the barbarous "firing" policy so characteristic of our industries can be accounted for only as a survival from the time of the small concern when the competent workman dismissed could walk around the corner and get a job just as good. That such is not the case to-day may be learned by simply interviewing workmen as to what loss of job has meant to them. What tales of tramping the streets looking for work, of rushing hither and thither on a rumor that this firm or that is taking on men, of returning night after night worn out and discouraged to an anxious family, of the frantic cutting down of household expenses, the begging of credit from butcher and grocer, the borrowing of small sums from one's cronies, the shattering of hopeful plans for the children! Here are real tragedies, hundreds, nay thousands, of them a year in our larger centers, yet the general public goes its way quite unconscious.

Professor Ross sets forth detailed plans for putting the "dismissal wage" idea into operation, and endeavors to show how the various problems that it would inevitably entail might be solved. The plan is, in brief, that a workman who has been with his employer

long enough to warrant the presumption that he is of value—say six months—shall have a legal right to a fortnight's free wages when he is dismissed without fault on his part. If he is dismissed on account of alleged misconduct and thus loses his dismissal pay, he may appeal to a board of arbitration for redress. It is proposed to establish such a board in each industrial community, comprising one member to represent employees, one to represent employers, and a third named by the State Industrial Commission. The employee who leaves his position voluntarily is to receive no dismissal pay, unless it can be shown that his employer has deliberately brought about his resignation by cutting his wages or making his position onerous in one way or another. Many questions of this sort would need to be settled by arbitration.

The legal dismissal wage should not become involved with strikes and lockouts. Let the rule be that the striker has not relinquished his job any more than the man who has been absent on account of sickness. When the man resumes his job—whether on his terms or those of the employer—he should have whatever rights he had when he struck. Only in case he applies for his job and is refused should he be entitled to a dismissal wage. If he never applies, he should get nothing.

Let the lockout be looked upon as if it were a temporary stoppage owing to a fire or a dearth of fuel or raw material. When the men are taken on again all is as before. If they stay away, they should get nothing. If they are refused their old jobs, they should get the dismissal wage.

If the employer goes bankrupt his men's dismissal wages should constitute precisely the same kind of claim on his assets as their back wages.

As to the effect of the legal dismissal wage upon employers, Prof. Ross thinks that it would be greatly to their advantage, since it would reduce the amount of labor "turn-over" which now reaches scandalous proportions in American industries.

The inquiries of Magnus W. Alexander show that the hiring of 22,031 unneeded employees in twelve factories involved an economic waste of nearly a million dollars—3½ per cent of the total wage bill! The obligation to pay a dismissal wage would give such employees a motive to make their practise conform to that of those thoughtful and humane employers who have reduced their annual turnover—in some cases to 30 per cent.—with profit to themselves and contentment to their employees. They would find that it would pay to give attention to human engineering, to install employment managers to investigate why an employee is doing badly and find a way to remove the cause. Before letting a man go with a fortnight's free wages they would try him out in different positions or departments.

THE VIRTUES OF BALSA WOOD

THE existence of serviceable wood one-third lighter than cork began to attract public attention about two years ago, when reports were heard of its extensive use in making life-rafts for Government vessels. In technical circles it had previously been made known, especially through a paper by the late Prof. R. S. Carpenter on "The Properties of Balsa Wood," read before the American Society of Civil Engineers, June 7, 1916.

In April, 1918, Prof. W. W. Rowlee, head of the Botanical Department of Cornell University, was commissioned by the New York Company that has been exploiting this wood to visit the regions of Central America from which a part of the supply is obtained, in order to investigate the different varieties of the tree and the conditions under which it is produced. Professor Rowlee, accompanied by his son, spent seven months in Panama, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, and Guatemala. Since his return he has published in the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences* (Washington, D. C.) an article dealing fully with the botany of the tree, and in *Fruit Dispatch* (the organ of the Fruit Dispatch Co., New York) an article which sets forth the popular aspects of the tree and its uses.

Balsa belongs to the genus *Ochroma*. Heretofore two species have been recognized, but Prof. Rowlee's investigations have increased the number to nine. The popular name *balsa* is a Spanish word for "raft," and was applied to this wood because the Spanish colonists in the New World found rafts made of it in use on the tropical rivers. It bears many other names in the tropics.

The habits of the tree are thus described:

It is principally a second growth tree rather than a tree of the primeval forests. It appears promptly and abundantly where clearings have been made, either by the natural agency of floods or by human cultivation. In this it is like a tree weed, and its natural seeding in some places produces such abundance of seedlings as to suggest the weeds in a neglected garden.

Its growth is very rapid. During the first five or six years of its life it may attain a diameter of twenty-five to thirty inches or an average growth in thickness of five inches per year. It also grows very rapidly in height, often attaining, under favorable conditions, fifty or sixty feet in five or six years, an average of ten feet per year. This gives it a place among the most rapidly growing trees, if indeed it is not the most rapid of all.

There are other light, soft woods in the tropical forests but, so far as is known, no other tree has the combined advantages of lightness and strength in the same degree as balsa.

Like other light woods, balsa in its natural condition has the property of absorbing moisture very rapidly, causing it to warp and decay. Capt. A. P. Lundin, a retired sea captain, was prompted by the *Slocum* disaster to seek a better material than cork for life-preservers, and experimented with balsa, which he had seen in use in South America. He was, however, baffled by the problem of making wood waterproof, until the invention by R. A. Marr, of Norfolk, of a so-called "encysting" process, by which a waterproofing material can be carried to the center of any piece of timber, coating the cells and ducts with an extremely thin permanent film. This process, since improved, has made balsa a commercial wood.

Balsa life-rafts are now used in the Navy, on Army transports, and on vessels of the Emergency Fleet, and were responsible for saving many lives during the war.

Some of these small rafts can support as many as sixty persons in the water. They occupy very little space when nested and it is to be hoped that their general use will make it possible to equip our excursion boats in such a way that we will no longer be horrified by accounts of frightful catastrophes, when accidents, which in spite of all precautions will occur, precipitating hundreds of struggling, frantic people suddenly into the water. Life preservers are not always on hand in sufficient numbers or else are improperly adjusted, and in such a situation people clutch and cling to anything that floats. Many lives might be saved if a few balsa life-rafts were available.

Balsa further proved its utility during the war when eighty thousand floats of this material were used in constructing the 230-mile mine barrage across the North Sea, described in a recent number of this REVIEW.

Balsa has also found a very important use in the making of certain parts of airplanes. According to tests made at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, its strength is about one-half that of spruce.

Last but not least, this wood is said to be a better insulating material than any other now in commercial use. It therefore promises to come into general use in the construction of refrigerating appliances of all kinds, from small iceboxes to refrigerator cars and refrigerators for ships.

THE RATIONALE OF BOUNDARIES

NOW that the attention of the world is riveted upon the proceedings of a little group of map-makers assembled at Versailles, an article on "Principles in the Determination of Boundaries" is of timely interest. Prof. Albert Perry Brigham, of Colgate University, presents an article under this title in the *Geographical Review* (New York). It is worth quoting especially as a handy statement of two rival theories of boundary-making which have lately been to the fore in various British books and journals. According to one theory the main function of a boundary is defensive. According to the other, a boundary should serve to establish relations of harmonious association between the peoples on either side of it.

The former view is championed by Colonel Sir Thomas Holdich, who, says Prof. Brigham, is recognized as preëminent among those who have had actual and long experience in boundary demarcation. As he is a military man, it is not unnatural that he should cherish the military and defensive conception of the function of boundaries. He believes that, man being "a fighting animal, he must be prevented from physical interference with his neighbor by physical means. . . . A boundary must be a barrier." To which Professor Brigham retorts: "Ergo, if there be no barrier, we must rely on armament and fighting—a rather hopeless outlook." Holdich maintains, says Brigham, that

of all barriers, mountains are "incomparably the best." Holdich often recurs to the Himalayas and the Andes, but most of the world, and most of the people of the world, are not on the two sides of the Andes or the Himalayas; and the Alps, the Carpathians, and the Pyrenees fall far short of supplying high fences for Europe's dense and diverse millions. Failing high mountains, Holdich comes to common divides and water partings. These indeed are determinable and, for human periods, reasonably stable; but are they defensive?

Recognizing that small elevations are more common than Pyrenees, our author reverts to the defensive value of hills, supplemented by forts and trenches, and thus practically surrenders his major contention for natural ring fences and falls back upon the primitive method of keeping the world in some kind of order. These admissions are hardly consistent with the opinion that "there are but few wide spaces existing in the world where some adaptable features of natural topography are not to be found ready to his (the boundary maker's) hand." On the other hand, one may freely ask where, in the thousands of

miles of Eurasian plain that stretch from the Pyrenees to Vladivostok, can a boundary expert trace around any nation "a sound, defensible line" within which it "may find peace and security." We may well fear that a doctrine of natural encirclements will delude us with empty hope; and, in default of international good will, send us along the rough road of recurrent war and patched-up peace.

The chief advocate of the rival theory of "assimilative boundaries" is Prof. L. W. Lyde, of University College, London, author of a remarkably suggestive work on "The Continent of Europe," and another on "Some Frontiers of To-morrow."

Professor Lyde approaches the subject from the point of view of the human geographer and brings to bear upon it his wide knowledge of the historical, racial, linguistic, and economic relations of human groups. Nowhere are his views more compactly expounded than in his essay on "River Frontiers in Europe." He refers to Holdich's then recent paper before the British Association as setting forth a purely military doctrine of frontiers, as if war were the normal state of man. If a mountain barrier is far better than all others, then a boundary is good, not as it promotes, but as it prevents intercourse. A boundary must, on the other hand, be an international feature, it must be obvious, indisputable, a promoter of relations in peace and a barrier in war. Lyde cites the Plate, long a frontier line, but never a source of friction as regards the countries bordering it. Civilization is "progress in the art of living together," and the world long ago became an economic unit. It is the navigable river which encourages "a maximum of peaceful tendencies."

The frontier embodies a formal contract which commercial communities, common on rivers, are more likely to respect than are nomad highlanders. Lyde's closing sentence in this paper has the tone of prophetic warning. "If the new map of Europe is based on purely military lines, Europe will have to expiate it—once more—on purely military lines."

Such are the alternatives offered. On the one hand nations may not trust each other and must have defensible borders. Such defenses are hard to find and, when found, must be supplemented by artificial constructions and armies. All being done, the best defensive arrangements are likely to be neutralized by destructive modern invention. On the other hand is the hope, more or less theoretical and academic, promulgated by a university professor, that nations will live together in reasonable amity, assimilating themselves to each other, preferably across the narrow waters of a river.

The author devotes much space to demolishing the widespread notion that so-called "scientific boundaries" really serve to ensure defense and promote peace. By this phrase is commonly meant such natural fea-

tures as mountains, deserts, seas and rivers. History is full of examples to prove that such boundaries fail to serve as effective "barriers," and with the recent progress in the art of warfare they have almost completely lost any defensive value they ever had. The frontier between the United States and Canada is partly natural and partly artificial. "But," says the writer, "the forty-ninth parallel has been as good a divide as Niagara River or the Great Lakes, and the same reason may be affirmed in relation to both—a decently disposed people live on each side of the line."

We are approaching, or we should like to think we are approaching, the time when national limits are to be set for equal welfare on both sides of the line, when considerations of defense and of aggression fall out of sight, and justice is the only goal—justice involving the administrative convenience, reasonable self-sufficiency, and economic coöperation of national groups. So far as this ideal is reached, a line across a plain may be as good as a mountain range, the forty-ninth parallel as useful as the Pyrenees. Under such ideal conditions international lines would be little more than our bounds of states, counties, and towns—they tell us where to vote, where to pay our taxes and record our mortgages, and who will build roads for us, police us, and otherwise carry out our will in the various spheres of government. As state and civic pride still

abounds, we need not fear that patriotism will die.

Emphasis lies to-day on the human factors in boundary-making. The word "race" has been much used in this field but deserves to be discarded. All the great nations and many of the smaller are composite in origin, and it is the nation—not the race—that is looking for ring fences. The German may be Teuton, Slav, or Alpine; long head, round head, brunet, or blond; he is a member, for boundary purposes, not of a race, but of a nation. South Germany has been deemed by good authority to be less Teutonic than eastern France.

Nor is language a criterion for the boundary maker. Professor Spenser Wilkinson, in discussing Lyde's paper on boundaries before the Royal Geographical Society, recalled a Greek lady who, in the course of a day's travel in the Balkans, denied that Bulgarian speech necessarily made the speaker Bulgarian. Greeks some of them were in all but speech—"the test of nationality is the will of each." Nationality is the criterion, and men may elect their nationality just as they choose the town they will live in and the business they will pursue. Belgium, bilingual; Switzerland, quadrilingual; and Alsace-Lorraine, with French sympathy and German speech, are examples which in these days need but to be named.

Nationality means unity of ideal, derived chiefly from hereditary experience or from geographical environment or more often perhaps from both combined. It is the group which wishes to live and act together and to have a common government, embodying its purpose and its emotion in the word patriotism.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH AS INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGES

AN illuminating and interesting discussion on the international languages of the future, by Albert Dauzat, forms the opening article of a recent issue of *La Revue Mondiale*, Paris (formerly *La Revue*).

Before the war—the writer says—the question of an international tongue was widely debated, increasingly so as commercial and intellectual intercourse among the nations grew closer. Many advocated the adoption of an artificial idiom, but they could not agree upon the choice of that ideal tongue; practical experiments, however, were made with one or two. Others, among them the writer, claimed that an artificial language would never suffice for human thought. They invoked the great law of natural selection, which, causing the national languages to emerge from the multitude of dialects, tended to the world-diffusion of the tongues best fitted for the struggle for existence. M. Chappelier, as far back

as 1900, advocated a Franco-English consortium as the solution of the problem.

The question failed, however, to arouse a wide interest and remained purely theoretical. The Great War, which has wrought such profound political and social changes, has, one may assert, here, too, pronounced its verdict. Four years of war have done more than a hundred years of peace to settle the problem. The victory of the Entente will exercise incalculable effects in all domains. In cementing indissolubly the Anglo-Saxon world and the Franco-Anglo-American alliance, it sanctions the joint supremacy of the English and French tongues as well as of the nations where they are spoken.

Two rivals, avowed or prospective, have collapsed and can no longer claim to play the part of world-languages: German and Russian. The writer shows how by her vast losses of territory Germany's sphere of influence will be restricted; and how her pres-

tige, beyond her frontiers—a ruling factor in the use of her language—has been irredeemably impaired in Switzerland, Holland, Scandinavia, Poland. The preëminence accorded to German in Austria-Hungary, particularly in the Slav regions, has now lost its *raison d'être*. Finally, if, as is probable, she loses her colonies, German, it may be said, will cease to be spoken beyond Europe, for the war will hasten the assimilation of the German-Americans, the vast majority of whom sided in the conflict with their adopted country.

As for the Russian language, though it did not claim to be an international one, it might ere long have done so owing to the vast number of the Czar's subjects and the political importance of his realm. The collapse and dismemberment of the country have eliminated this possible competitor.

The war has been a moral triumph for France. She has given proof of courage, tenacity, industry—qualities denied her by foreigners, often even by the French themselves. A decadent nation, was the disdainful cry on every hand. Outsiders misunderstood the French; now they appreciate them at their true value. And now they will regain the position which the pretended Teuton superiority had caused them to forfeit in Central Europe as well as in the Orient and America.

French will more and more become the international language of Southern Europe, of the Mediterranean, the Levant, North and Northeast Africa, besides being spoken in Canada and the overseas possessions of France.

The sphere of English is still more vast. It is, or will be, the mother-tongue, or the secondary one, of the British Isles, British America, South and East Africa, Southern Asia, Oceania. Japan has adopted it as an auxiliary tongue without neglecting French, however.

As for Latin America, it must be realized that Spanish is a world-language of the past, not of the future. And it may be readily foreseen that Central America—from Mexico to Colombia and Venezuela—will sooner or later come under the influence of the United States, and, consequently, of English speech.

Between the two great languages which

have a legitimate claim to become the international languages of the world, the question is not merely that of a geographic distribution of influence. Beyond that, they have distinctive traits, natural or acquired, in the intellectual and social spheres. In the second half of the 17th century French became the diplomatic language of Europe, because it was the one most in use in good society; it filled that rôle without dispute from 1713 to 1870. After the French defeat Germany essayed to contest that position but with little success. When the United States and Japan were added to the European concert, English was, of course, given a place. The Peace Conference has adopted French as its principal language, with an optional use of English; the proceedings are recorded in both languages. As a matter of fact, only the delegates of Great Britain, Canada, the United States and Japan have spoken in English.

French, the writer comments, owes its success not alone to historical and literary causes, but to its lucidity, finesse, delicacy. English, on the other hand, has since long revealed itself as a commercial tongue of the first order.

The two international languages of the future will not be hostile but will mutually, increasingly penetrate each other, as they already do in special domains. Their reciprocal influence is one of the great phenomena of social history. Linguistically, English is Anglo-Saxon strongly impregnated with French; two-thirds, perhaps, of the English vocabulary comes from south of the English Channel. And what loans has the French made from its neighbor since the 18th century! However, since the close of that century, and particularly since 1870, the Anglo-Saxon world and France had become more and more closed to each other. The war has suddenly changed all that—a change all the more durable since it answers new needs and only renews an anterior evolution interrupted by the violence of Prussian domination. The movement is irresistible. Courses in English are opened on every hand. A like movement, with a like intensity, is taking place in England and America, particularly in the United States, where French, except in the East, was little cultivated before the war.

THE NEW BOOKS

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TOPICS

The Clash. By William H. Moore. E. P. Dutton & Company. 333 pp.

We have in Mr. Moore's book a remarkable study of the relations between French Canadians and English Canadians, written by a man who presents in a new way the merits of the French race. Mr. Moore believes in bi-lingualism and thinks his own race (the English Canadians), especially in the Province of Ontario, is mistaken in its anti-French attitude. "If the book is not wholly convincing, it is at least well worth reading as philosophical study of the problem of races with which the whole world is confronted.

The Near East from Within By ———. E. P. Dutton & Company. 265 pp.

This anonymous account of German diplomacy in the Balkans, Turkey, and Egypt during the past twenty years seems to bear internal evidence that the author, whoever he is, has at least had opportunity to see and hear a great deal of what has been going on in the Near East since the Kaiser set on foot his great Pan-German scheme. Needless to say, his book, written during the war, is anti-Prussian in viewpoint.

Democracy and the Eastern Question. By Thomas F. Millard. The Century Co. 446 pp.

Mr. Thomas F. Millard is one of the frankest and ablest of the writers upon the politics of the Far East. His new volume follows several predecessors and takes the tone of his vigorous periodical known as *Millard's Review*. He holds strongly to the Chinese side in the controversies between Japan and China. Some American authorities hold the Japanese view, while still more are equally friendly in their feeling toward both of these Eastern nations, believing that each needs the other, and that there ought to be the best of understanding in the Far East as among Japan, China, the United States, and Great Britain.

The Freedom of the Seas. By Louise Fargo Brown. E. P. Dutton & Company. 278 pp.

Miss Brown has made a useful and timely survey of the growth of the doctrine of international freedom and equality in the use of the seas for trade and commerce. The maritime controversies and doctrines have been carefully traced and are presented in a way that is readable as well as intelligent and scholarly.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Pioneers of the Old South. By Mary Johnston. New Haven: Yale University Press. 260 pp.

The Fathers of New England. By Charles M. Andrews. New Haven: Yale University Press. 210 pp.

Dutch and English on the Hudson. By Maud Wilder Goodwin. New Haven: Yale University Press. 243 pp.

Washington and His Colleagues. By Henry Jones Ford. New Haven: Yale University Press. 235 pp.

The Old Northwest. By Frederic Austin Ogg. New Haven: Yale University Press. 220 pp.

"The Chronicles of America" is a new series of historical narratives to be comprised in fifty volumes, twenty of which have already appeared. The plan has been worked out under the direction of Professor Allen Johnson, who holds the Larned Chair of American History at Yale. A glance at the list of authors will show at once that not a single volume in the series is a "first

book." In almost every instance the contributor will be found to have been an experienced student and writer in the field to which he has been assigned. Thus, Miss Mary Johnston, known far and wide for her tales of life in Old Virginia, treats with a wealth of detailed knowledge the "Pioneers of the Old South." Professor Charles M. Andrews, for thirty years an authority on English and American Puritanism, pictures "The Fathers of New England." Mrs. Maud Wilder Goodwin, an eager student of Colonial New York, describes the early settlements of "Dutch and English on the Hudson." These examples, taken at random, will perhaps serve as well as any others to indicate to the well-informed reader the effort that has been made by the publishers to unite in these volumes the best forms of literary expression with the substantial qualities of historical scholarship. Unlike much of the historical literature that emanates from our universities these days, not a single volume in this series, among those thus far published, is long or tedious or cumbered with foot-notes. The contributors have been held rigidly to the promise of the prospectus, that the books should be narratives rather than commentaries. This principle has been closely followed, even by veteran historians to whom the temptation to philosophize

must have appealed with force. Thus the episode of the rise and fall of Federatism in the early days of the Republic is related by Professor Henry Jones Ford in the form of a story, built around the personalities of "Washington and His Colleagues." Never before was the politics developed in the administrations of Washington and Adams so gracefully and picturesquely described. There are several books in the series that fill real gaps in our popular literature. Of such is the volume on "The Old Northwest," by Professor Frederic Austin Ogg, of the University of Wisconsin. Oddly enough, the men and women who have grown up in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota have read very little about the origins of their native States, because little was provided for them in attractively printed form. Professor Ogg gives a wonderfully compact record of the white settlements and Indian wars of this entire region. "The Chronicles of America" are beautifully printed and bound, and the illustrations, while not numerous, have been chosen for peculiar merit and fitness in each volume.

Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta 1683-1711. By Herbert Eugene Bolton. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. Volume I. 379 pp. Volume II. 329 pp.

Dr. Bolton, who is Professor of American History and Curator of the Bancroft Library at the University of California, has translated for the first time a contemporary account of the beginnings of California, Arizona, and the Mexican State of Sonora, by Father Kino, S. J., a pioneer missionary, explorer, cartographer, and ranchman, who lived in the latter part of the seventeenth and the first decade of the eighteenth century. The fact that one man could have had more than two centuries ago a more exact and detailed knowledge of the regions in question than is possessed to-day by one American in a million, is the first occasion of wonderment to the unenlightened reader. That he did have such knowledge, there can be no possible doubt. The maps that he made are evidence in themselves. Professor Bolton reminds us, however, that although in our youth we may have thought of the Southwest as an unexplored region, that section was not only known, but books were written about it as early as the sixteenth century, while New Mexico boasts a history in the form of an epic poem, filling a volume, and printed in 1610, and several eighteenth-century works dealt largely with New Mexico, Arizona, and California. This background of fact, therefore, helps to account for



MAP OF PIMERIA ALTA MADE BY FATHER KINO IN 1705
(Showing the thoroughness with which the region had been explored at that early date, seventy years before the American Revolution)

the amazing erudition displayed by Father Kino in these important and scholarly volumes.

The Oregon Missions. By Bishop James W. Bashford. The Abingdon Press. 311 pp.

Bishop Bashford's essential aim in writing this book was to tell how the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, lying between Russia on the North and Mexico on the South, was divided between the United States and Great Britain. Because in his opinion the work of the missionaries was the most important single factor in securing this division of territory without a war, Bishop Bashford has given more space to the missions than to any other element in the situation and has called his book, "The Oregon Missions." Readers who may have been interested in the long-drawn-out controversy over Dr. Whitman's relation to the Oregon question and his services to the Government will find that Bishop Bashford, after examining carefully the arguments on both sides, has concluded that the original claims made in behalf of Dr. Whitman were extravagant.

The French Blood in America. By Lucian J. Fosdick. Boston: Badger, 448 pp.

Every man, woman and child in America with the heritage of French blood in their veins will own to a thrill of pride on reading Mr. Lucian J. Fosdick's account of the valiant and noble part

played by the French Huguenots in the settlement of America. Under the title of "The French Blood in America," he has given a complete account of their activities in the New World. The narrative begins with a survey of the period of religious persecution in France that brought on the French Revolution, and drove the Huguenots to our shores. Following this is an account of their early and disastrous attempts to found colonies in America, and these chapters are succeeded by the story of the actual French colonization in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and the Southern States. Lists of names are given which include all those names derived from the French which have passed as typical American nomenclature. The text is written in popular style and supplied with rare and interesting illustrations.

Centennial History of Illinois, Volume III: The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870. By Arthur Charles Cole. Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission. 499 pp.

The third volume of the "Centennial History of Illinois" covers the era of the Civil War. For that period, the history of no one of the Northern States is more important or interesting. It includes the rise of the great Free Soil movement, the origin of the Republican party, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, the election of 1860, and, finally, the profound disturbance of society wrought by the war itself. The author brings to light a great mass of material which, to the present generation, has been almost unknown.

Old Fort Snelling: 1819-1858. By Marcus L. Hansen. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 270 pp. Ill.

To the few surviving Minnesota pioneers of the 50's, this account of the military post that preceded the settlement of the present city of St. Paul will have a fascinating interest. The history of old Fort Snelling has to do with the early annals, not only of Minnesota, but of Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and the whole Northwest. The period covered in this volume begins with the establishment of a fort in 1819, and ends with the temporary abandonment of the site as a military post, in 1858. Later the fort was reestablished, and in 1917 a camp was organized there for the training of officers for our new National Army.

Henry Rosenberg: 1824-1893. Galveston: The Rosenberg Library. 226 pp.

Henry Rosenberg, born in Switzerland, came to America as a lad of nineteen, settled in Galveston, Texas, prospered there as a merchant and banker, and after half a century of useful and unostentatious living, passed away in 1893, leaving by his will a very large part of his wealth for public purposes, the larger portion being devoted to a free public library. This institution, amply endowed by Mr. Rosenberg's request, fulfills not only the usual functions of a library, but maintains a lecture course that is perhaps unequalled in the South. The benefits that for all time to come will accrue to Galveston's people

from the generosity of this public-spirited citizen cannot be measured. It is fitting that a memorial volume of this kind should commemorate public gifts and bequests of such enduring usefulness.

Certain American Faces. By Charles Lewis Slattery. E. P. Dutton & Company. 239 pp. Ill.

The rector of Grace Church in New York City gives in this volume sketches of eminent Americans in Church and University circles who were of his own generation. Prominent among these are Phillips Brooks, William James, Josiah Royce, Bishop Hare, Bishop Whipple, and Dr. William Reed Huntington.

The Greater Patriotism. By John Lewis Griffiths. John Lane Company. 229 pp. Ill.

A collection of public addresses made by the late John Lewis Griffiths, American Consul-General at London, with a memoir by his widow, Mrs. Caroline Henderson Griffiths, and an introduction by Hilaire Belloc. Mr. Griffiths did much to promote and intensify the kindly feeling between Great Britain and the United States.

Extracts from the Journal of Thomas Russell Sullivan, 1891-1903. Houghton, Mifflin. 252 pp.

The daily observations of a Bostonian who gave up a business career to devote his time to literary work and included in his journal many references to the current discussions of his time in the field of literature and art.

In the Days of Victoria. By Thomas F. Plowman. John Lane Company. 361 pp. Ill.

Mr. Plowman's recollections antedate the middle of the Nineteenth Century and include memories of relations with men of many groups and interests throughout a long period.

Eminent Victorians. By Lytton Strachey. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 351 pp. Ill.

Brilliant portraits of four of the great Britishers of the Nineteenth Century—Cardinal Manning, Florence Nightingale, Dr. Thomas Arnold, and "Chinese" Gordon. Embodied in the sketches of these great Victorians are innumerable references to other personalities of their day and generation. All in all, it is a clever contribution to the history of the Victorian age.

George Bernard Shaw. By Archibald Henderson. Boni and Liveright. 528 pp.

The Standard biography of George Bernard Shaw, with literary criticism of all his work, is now accessible to readers in a popular-priced edition. Everything the student of the opinions and philosophy of "G. B. S." could desire to know is included in this voluminous biography. It is a well-made book, excellently printed from the plates of the original edition. The full text is given and all the illustrations of the earlier \$5 volume. It will be remembered that much of the material for this book, pictures, letters, manuscripts, etc., was placed at the disposal of Mr. Henderson by Mr. Shaw himself.

TWO IMPORTANT WAR NARRATIVES

The War Romance of the Salvation Army.
By Grace Livingston Hill and Evangeline Booth.
Lippincott. 356 pp.

"The War Romance of the Salvation Army," in this country and abroad, written by Grace Livingston Hill (Lutz), in collaboration with Commander Evangeline Booth, is one of the most in-



COMMANDER EVANGELINE
BOOTH OF THE SALVATION
ARMY

spiring accounts of Christian service that the modern world has known. Mrs. Hill has written the main narrative from the stories of the workers, Miss Booth furnishes an introduction and a survey of the methods by which the work was accomplished. Miss Booth states that her workers entered France ahead of the Expeditionary Forces, and it is their purpose to minister there until the last of our troops returns. The secret of the Salvation Army's success lay principally in three factors: "We were ready when the bolt

fell with our material mechanism of relief; our workers were injured to labor and accustomed to hardship, for the Salvation Army has thrived on adversity; and the religion of the Army is *practical Christianity*." Arthur Copping says the Salvation Army succeeded because of its "simple thoroughgoing, uncompromising, seven-days-a-week character of its Christianity."

The story of the work is a cheerful one in spite

of the constant accompaniment of tragedy. Toul, Montdidier, Baccarat, Château-Thierry, Soissons, St. Mihiel, the Argonne, all these historical names point the path of the Salvation Army's service, where with superhuman physical endurance and sleepless vigilance, they served the A. E. F. The work done on the first day of the opening of a kitchen is typical. Two women in this particular section in one day baked 2500 doughnuts, 8 dozen cup cakes, 800 pancakes, fifty pies, and brewed 225 gallons of cocoa. One worker distributed the day's output to the soldiers. Scores of letters and testimonials from the humble and from those in high places testify to the gratitude of the soldiers and to the value of the work undertaken. If any one record of war work could serve as a basis for reasoned assurance that that war had not been fought in vain, and that practical Christianity would triumph in the era to come, it would be the record of the Salvation Army at the front.

An American Poilu. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 244 pp.

This charming book of war letters written by an anonymous American while serving in the ranks of the French Army, to his mother and sister, is an illuminating contribution to the mass of literature on the War. The pen pictures are in excellent style and well drawn, revealing the thoughts and activities of the French soldier in training camp, barracks and battle. The period covered is from July, 1917, to November, 1919, the last hundred pages being written in hospital. That which makes it of value is the detail of soldier life, particularly as to barracks, food, cleanliness, and hospital treatment. It is an interesting and, at times, amusing book; and many of our own veterans will enjoy it. Incidentally, the author won the *Croix de Guerre*; and, in the Battle of Soissons and Château-Thierry received a wound and a second citation for distinguished bravery. The author is mature and clear-visioned. He retains the civilian's cynicism towards war as such.

A BOOK OF REFERENCE

The American Year Book: 1918. Edited by Francis G. Wickware. D. Appleton & Company. 850 pp.

The editors of statistical annuals had their difficulties greatly increased by the World War. Not only was it virtually impossible to get statistics of any value from the Central Powers as long as hostilities continued, but the war itself and its worldwide effects on human relationships of every sort necessarily altered the scope and content of such books. This is especially noticeable in the last few issues of the "American Year Book." The space allotments of many of the departments have been altered materially and foreign affairs, in particular, are covered with much

greater thoroughness than in the pre-war volumes of the same series. Undoubtedly some of these changes are permanent, and although it will always be an American work, it cannot neglect international topics. Among the subjects treated in the volume for 1918 are the collapse of Germany, revolutionary developments in Russia, the final military movements of the war, food, temperance, and labor questions, and the preparations for the Peace Conference. This volume has also a capital summary of the war organization of the United States, including forty pages reviewing the functions of the civilian agencies created by the Government for the more efficient prosecution of the war. This record is of permanent value.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL HYGIENE

Studies in Electro-Physiology. By Arthur E. Baines. E. P. Dutton, 291 pp. Ill.

Studies in Electro-Pathology. By B. A. White Robertson. E. P. Dutton, 301 pp. Ill.

These remarkable books, which are founded on twenty years of scientific research, advance theories in regard to the electrical control of tissues which may completely alter our ideas of the structure of the human body and its operating forces, and also those of all other living organisms, animal and vegetable. The author of the first volume ("Studies in Electro-Physiology"), Mr. Arthur E. Baines, a technical electrician, discovered while cable-testing in Delagoa Bay, that the delicate readings of his galvanometer were disturbed by the electrical currents of his own body. This was the starting point of his work, which, beginning with studies of plant life, led to the conclusion that the tissues of our bodies, our health, strength and effectiveness, the prolongation of life, and the prevention of old age depend upon the perfection of the electrical control of the living tissues. The extreme importance of tests with the galvanometer in the diagnosis of disease, according to Mr. Baines' opinion, can hardly be overestimated.

The second book, "Studies in Electro-Pathology," By B. A. White Robertson, is based primarily upon Mr. Baines' researches. This book examines and explains the laws of electrical equilibrium in the chemical and electrical activities of the cell, and shows us that the inroad of disease in modern civilization has come in large measure from the disturbance of the electrical equilibrium in body-cells. This is largely brought about by our consumption of "dead food," vegetable and animal food that is too old, that has lost the electrical activity necessary to renew constantly our own cells. These two books are valuable contributions to literature that points the way to the attainment and preservation of perfect bodily vigor and accompanying mental and spiritual poise.

How to Live. By Irving Fisher and Eugene Lyman Fisk, M.D. Funk and Wagnalls. 461 pp. Ill.

To stimulate correct living and prevent premature senility and death is the purpose of "How to Live," a book that has helped to bring about the great health movement that is at present sweeping over the world. The authors, Professor Irving Fisher of Yale, and Eugene Lyman Fisk, M.D., have prepared the material in collaboration with the Hygiene Reference Board of the Life Extension Institute. Ninety leading medical authorities are represented in the conclusions of the volume and the present edition—the fifteenth—has been revised and enlarged to include the newest discoveries of modern science. It has been used as a text-book of hygiene in several universities and translations are being prepared in five foreign languages. The subjects are: Air, poisons, activity, hygiene in general, over-weight, hygiene of the brain and the nervous system, narcotics, chronic organic diseases, mortality tendencies in other nations, and

eugenics. The illustrations include portraits of members of the Life Extension Institute, and cuts of corrective work, physical exercises, diagrams, tables, etc., that will enable the reader to secure the maximum of physical benefit from the work.

The Road to a Healthy Old Age. By T. Bodley Scott, M.D. Holt. 170 pp.

The alchemists toiled to discover three things—how to make gold, how to remain always young, and how "to die never." The enlarged and revised edition of Dr. Scott's popular book tells us how to attain the second object and live to the end of our days in full strength and vigor. The chapters treat of the value and digestibility of foods, the preservation of health, the treatment and prevention of premature senility and of chronic bronchitis and asthma.

Nervousness. By L. E. Emerson. Boston: Little, Brown. 184 pp.

Dr. Emerson writes in the preface: "Let him who has never been nervous lay down this book. It is not meant for him, or for her. But if everybody else will read it, I shall be satisfied." It is not the conventional treatise of diet, rest, exercise, etc., but a volume of directions for psychic re-education, a series of chapters that teach the nervous and the morbid to correct faulty thinking and disturbing emotions, and bring themselves back to functional health.

The Mental Hygiene of Childhood. By William A. White, M.D. Boston: Little, Brown. 193 pp.

For many years as superintendent of St. Elizabeth's Hospital, the Government institution in Washington for the mentally incapable, Dr. White has had exceptional opportunities to make first hand the studies upon which this book is based. He analyzes the mental life of the child and its source, and gives its interpretation, using the familiar methods of psycho-analysis. He shows how a great deal of the child's natural force is wasted, and that this force may be cultivated and trained by wise parents in such measure as to prevent future morbidity, troublesome complexes, and ill health of various kinds.

The Secret of Personality. By George Trumbull Ladd. Longmans. 287 pp.

Although this book might be placed in another category, it most assuredly belongs in that of "mental hygiene." It carries the discussion continuing throughout Professor Ladd's previous books ("What Can I Know?" "What Ought I to Do?" "What Should I Believe?" "What May I hope?") over into the domain of Christian faith. It is a measure by which we may test our mental and spiritual resistance to present-day disturbing factors, and an answer to the question: "What shall I think of myself, my origin, the meaning of my life, the values which it seeks to realize, and my destiny?" This clearing away of mental fog induces healthy physical reactions. Therefore this book will be excellent mental medicine for the unfit who need, fundamentally, the unifying and harmonizing of personality.

SWINBURNE'S LETTERS: ESSAYS: STUDIES OF LITERATURE

THE revolutionary spirit of Swinburne has been rising from its Victorian tomb in slow but sure resurrection. Since the beginning of the war, his interpretations of democracy have engaged the interest of searching minds anxious to wrest from poets and seers the wisdom of the past for the safeguarding of the future. Therefore a comprehensive collection of Swinburne's letters is most welcome. The present series, "The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne," covers the whole period of the poet's adult life from February, 1858, to January, 1909. They present the poet's personal feeling on many subjects, the kernels of his ideas that were fledged later in stupendous poetry, and above all his sincere and deep attachment for his friends. They enable the reader to form a sane and correct estimate of the life of a man whose early years have in the passage of time become shrouded in a legendary tangle of more or less disagreeable gossip.

Edmund Gosse, co-editor with Thomas Wise of the collection, writes in the introduction that the "treasure heap over which Swinburne's heart loved most to gloat was that formed by the almost innumerable quarto plays of the Elizabethan and Jacobean period. These are discussed in his correspondence with a gusto which surpasses anything which Charles Lamb could show." Swinburne's letters to Victor Hugo and Mazzini have not yet been found. It is to be hoped that they will turn up, for their value in the comprehension of Swinburne's republican poetry. Nevertheless, the present collection is indispensable to the student of literature, and should, for the human interest of the documents, have wide general reading.

Anatole France,² French artisan of the Greek ideal, pagan, Epicurean, skeptic and humanist, has stood from the beginning of his literary life resolutely at the door of the prison of reality offering mankind the key to intellectual and spiritual freedom. This key is romance. Only a man of like tastes and appreciations could have written the exposition of his life and labors recently published by Lewis Piaget Shanks, Professor of Romance Languages and Literatures in the University of Wisconsin, and the essayist of the *Dial* and the *Sewanee Review*. It is a living portrait of the man, an estimate, made with a fine sense of dramatic values, of the forty years of Anatole France's literary activity, and a critical study, with ample quotations, of the forty volumes written during this period. Alfred Croiset said in his tribute to France: "You are the genius of Greece made French." This emerges in the great Frenchman's own words, "delicate yet definite and full of luminous reason," and in his feeling for the past. He says: "I love the things of days gone by and I like to live in the past." And again: "Man is only man because he remembers."

¹The Letters of Algernon Charles Swinburne. Edited by Edmond Gosse and Thomas James Wise. 2 vols. 600 pp.

²Anatole France. By Lewis Piaget Shanks. Chicago: The Open Court Co. 222 pp.

Professor Rudolph Schevill, who holds the Chair of Spanish in the University of California, has written a brilliant and particularly satisfying study of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra,³ Spain's most illustrious man of letters and creator of the immortal Don Quixote. Professor Schevill says with sound judgment that even if Cervantes had never written books, his remarkable career and gracious personality would merit our interest, affection and esteem. The first chapter describes the birthplace of Cervantes, Alcalá, and gives all the discoverable facts concerning his immediate family. Following this is an account of his youth, education, early works, and of his life as a soldier, and the five years of slavery in Algiers. From this background his biographer builds up the story of his literary career, of his relations to his contemporaries and the culture of Spain, and proceeds to a detailed discussion of his novels. More than any other current volume, this study will enable the general reader to understand Spanish culture and Spanish national ideals.

For several years readers have looked forward to Edward J. O'Brien's year-book of the best American short stories culled from the pages of the monthly magazines.⁴ Mrs. Blanche Colton Williams, Instructor in Short-Story Writing at Columbia University, has written an analysis of the structure of eighty of these stories taken from the four anthologies. It is an invaluable textbook for those who wish to learn the difficult art of short-story writing. Mrs. Williams believes that one can "learn to write" by studying the progressive steps of literary craftsmanship. She advocates a period of close study, then forgetfulness of technique. In her own words: "Do your exercises and practise much; master the principles and express yourself. When you have become full-grown, put away childish things and forget that you have ever heard of technique."

"The Dry Rot of Society,"⁵ a volume of literary studies of modern life, by Mrs. Marian Cox, intrigues interest from the first page to the last because each individual essay makes a brilliant rapier-like play of protest against the trend of things. Like the immortal R. L. Stevenson, the author "would like to ken, the reason of the cause and wherefore of the why." The first essay, "The Dry Rot of Society," analyses the psychology of drunkenness. The "fear of loneliness" is postulated as the initial urge to various forms of intoxication. Man must narcotize himself in some way or another to support the burden of his own spiritual solitariness. The second essay, "The Fools of Love," is a straight-from-the-shoulder-preachment to women. Women, according to Mrs. Cox, have become Love's fools; they are the victims of sentimental excess; they have "gout of the brain." Modern woman can

³Cervantes. By Rudolph Schevill. Duffield. 388 pp.

⁴How to Study "The Best Short Stories." By Blanche Colton Williams. Small Maynard. 222 pp.

⁵The Dry Rot of Society. By Marian Cox. Brentano's. 158 pp.

progress only when she gives love the same place and proportion in her life as man. The third essay, "The Lady in War," touching upon W. L. George's pronouncement that women enjoy war, ranges upon Andreas Latzko's scornful indictment, that women send men to war with smiles and roses, careless of their higher duty which is to exterminate from the world the causes of war. "The Gentleman in War" praises the gentlemen officers of Anglo-Saxon ideals, their chivalrous acceptance of death, and contrasts these ideals with those of military Germany. The last essay, "The Great War in Germany," is a study of fear as it infects a nation. Mrs. Cox sees Germany as the colossal victim of collective fear, a crazy soul, the victim of a recurrent world-madness. Altogether the essays are of the new aerial age. They ascend to the glittering, whirling nebulae of ideas, as yet perceived only by the lens of the trained observer of the intellectual firmament. They are very readable—as one critic writes, "better fun than Bernard Shaw and much truer to life."

"Marie Bashkirtseff: the Journal of a Young Artist"¹ is published in a freshly translated enlarged and revised edition. The frontispiece is a portrait of the young Russian girl as she looked in the bloom of youth and health, and the volume contains cuts from photographs of her paintings. This inimitable journal is too well known for comment, but it is well to remember that Gladstone called it: "the record of an extraordinary life—a book without a parallel"—also that Francis Coppée said: "Everything in this adorable young girl betrayed a superior mind. Beneath her womanly charm, she had a truly masculine will of iron, and one was reminded of the gift of Ulysses to the young Achilles—a sword hidden within the garments of a woman."

"English Literature,"² by Herbert Bates, is a guide-book to accompany a course of reading. The chapters follow the stream of literary development in the English tongue from the writings of the Anglo-Saxons down to the latest English and American writers of note. It is skilfully written, simplified in form, and particularly suitable for young students or for those who need basic grounding in literature and a knowledge of its historical figures.

Sir Henry Newbold's book, "A New Study of English Poetry,"³ contains twelve essays, three of which are on specific topics—Milton, Chaucer, and British Ballads—the remainder embracing the field of poetry as defined by titles such as "What Is Poetry?" "Poetry and Rhythm," "Poetry and Personality," "Poetry and Politics," "Futurism and Form," etc. As a whole, the volume asks for a middle course in our valuation of poetry, not too much of the scientific spirit nor of the influence of the past, nor a descent into utter anarchy of expression where beauty is irretrievably lost. Not since Meredith and Leigh Hunt have we had so vital and informing a work on poetry. Sir Henry's definition of that intricate art is more involved, however, than might be expected. "Good poetry, poetry in the full sense of the word, is the mas-

terly expression of rare, difficult and complex states of consciousness, of intuitions in which the highest thought is fused with simple perceptions, until both together become a new emotion." And the object of poetry, he writes, is to revive life in us, so that whether for pleasure or for pain we may have life more abundantly.

"The Erotic Motive in Literature"⁴ presents the psychoanalysis of the world's greatest poets and novelists. The author, Mr. Albert Mordell, has written his chapters around the thesis that "literature is a personal voice the source of which can be traced to the unconscious." That is to say, an author draws for his literary art not only upon his own personal past and that of his family, but upon the past psychic history of the human family. Using the Freudian method for the most part, Mr. Mordell has produced a book of sound criticism and unflagging interest.

In "The Golden Road,"⁵ Miss Lilian Whiting tells the story of her successful literary career. There are reminiscences of her famous friends—among them the Brownings—of travel, impressions that crystalized into books, and a record of the last satisfactions of a busy life. It is an entertaining and an inspiring work, one that reveals the rewards of the seeker after life's fullness, who combines imaginative power with unity of purpose and a belief in the spiritual foundations of the universe.

With serene belief that a great spiritual awakening is over the world working out its high purpose through the turmoil of current events, Miss Whiting writes of the spiritual environment of human life in "They Who Understand."⁶ Her beliefs are given in a quotation from Epes Sargent: "Man is an organized quality, consisting of an organic spiritual form, evolved coincidentally with and pervading his physical body, having corresponding organs and developments. Death is the separation of this quality, and effects no immediate change in the spirit either intellectually nor morally. Progressive evolution of the moral and intellectual nature is the destiny of individuals; the knowledge, experience, and attainments of earth life form the basis of the spirit life." This thesis is expanded into a book that deals with psychical research, the seen and unseen worlds and with spiritual experiences of noble souls. It is a work that will give strength and poise and fill the heart with courage for the performance of the practical tasks of life.

In Arthur Symonds' suggestive and atmospheric collection of essays and travel-sketches, "Cities and Sea-coasts and Islands,"⁷ the travel-lover who is at present denied the privilege of European journeying can make a satisfactory pilgrimage to many of the most uniquely beautiful spots in Europe. Part first carries the reader to Spain, to her cities, Toledo, Cordova, Valencia, Seville, and others; to her bullfights, art galleries, Moorish buildings, streets, shops, picturesque aspects of

¹"The Erotic Motive in Literature." By Albert Mordell. Boni & Liveright. 250 pp.

²"The Golden Road." By Lilian Whiting. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 316 pp.

³"They Who Understand." By Lilian Whiting. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 200 pp.

⁴"Cities and Sea-Coasts and Islands." By Arthur Symonds, Brentano's, 353 pp.

¹Marie Bashkirtseff: The Journal of a Young Artist. Translated by Mary J. Serrano. E. P. Dutton. 467 pp.

²English Literature. By Herbert Bates. Longmans, Green & Co. 605 pp.

³A New Study of English Poetry. By Sir Henry Newbold. E. P. Dutton. 357 pp.

life, and to the ancient traditions of her sunny lands. Part second gives the best description of London, past and present, that one can find in print. In part third there are the "sea-coasts and islands," among them Dieppe, Cornwall, the

Islands of Arran, Rosses Point, Sligo, Glencar, and Dover. The frontispiece is a fine portrait of the author reproduced from a photograph of a recent painting in oils by the celebrated English artist, Augustus John.

NEW PLAYS: DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE

"The play's the thing."

AS the head of the "47 Workshop" at Harvard and Professor of Dramatics, Mr. George Pierce Baker has amply demonstrated over a period of years, that given talent and enthusiasm in the student, he is able to teach the amateur playwright within a short time to write excellent acting plays, in many instances of power and originality. The lectures which make up his book "Dramatic Technique" (Houghton, Mifflin), have been delivered before the Lowell Institute and in Eastern cities previous to publication. Collectively they form the best book now available on dramatic theory, the psychology of the drama, and on the many problems that confront the would-be dramatist. Like Professor Baker's personal instruction, this book is thoroughly alive, a genuine stimulus to the creative powers of the mind. He says: "I have written for the person who cannot be content except when writing plays. I want it distinctly understood I have not written for the person seeking methods of conducting a course in dramatic technique. I view with alarm the recent growth of such courses throughout the country."

For the reader interested in all things Spanish, there is a volume of translations of Spanish plays with biographical notes on the various dramatists, by Charles Alfred Turrell, "Contemporary Spanish Dramatists." (R. J. Badger.) Only one of these plays, "Electra," by Benito Pérez Galdós, had been translated previously. The other plays are: "The Claws," by Manuel Linares Rivas; "The Women's Town," by Joaquín and Serafín Álvarez Quintero; "When the Roses Bloom Again," by Eduardo Marquina; "The Passing of the Magi," by Eduardo Zamacois, and "Juan José," by Joaquín Dicenta. The vitality and power of these plays will appeal to every lover of the drama. Maeterlinck has hardly written a passage of greater mystic beauty than the closing scene of, "When the Roses Bloom Again." It has the essentials of purest poetry.

Realizing that most people have difficulty in reading plays, because the reader must create settings in his mind at the same time he reads, J. M. Barrie has modified the stage form of some of his published plays. In "Alice Sit-By-The-Fire," he begins the play as a story and does not launch into the dramatic form until after page 29. Another volume now ready in this edition (Scribners) of the Barrie plays is, "The Admirable Crichton." This is published however, in the acting form without modification.

Phillip Moeller's play "Molière" (Knopf), is one of the most brilliant acting and reading plays of the year. It is not a combination of three capital one-act plays, as its predecessor, "Madame Sand," in which Mrs. Fiske made a notable success, but a cohesive drama, mellow, thrilled throughout its length with old romance, and reminiscent of the actual atmosphere of Louis XIV

and Francoise, Marquise de Montespan, two of its leading characters. In the New York production, Blanche Bates played de Montespan, Holbrook Blinn, Louis XIV, and Molière was impersonated by Henry Miller. The play ends with the tribute of Louis to the dead playwright: "Molière is dead, but in his name will live forever the gay spirit, the brave laughter and the unconquered heart of France."

Again Mrs. Katrina Trask has in the drama, "Without the Walls" (Macmillan), interpreted most eloquently the Gospel of Jesus Christ to a world heedful of His divine message. The play tells the story of the love of a beautiful Jewish girl and a Roman soldier in Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion. The bitterness and narrowness of the Israelitish father, bound rigidly by the letter—not the spirit—of the Hebraic law, is contrasted with the teachings of the Nazarene. Mrs. Trask has by means of her characters symbolized the battle at the present day between the forces of the old régime and the new order now dawning, the order which it is her steadfast hope will bring about universal peace and good will toward all men. A genuine instinct for dramatic structure, and an unerring feeling for word-beauty characterize the play as an artistic achievement.

"The Moon of the Caribbees and Six Other Plays of the Sea" (Boni & Liveright) will convince even the most skeptical that as a dramatist Eugene O'Neil has arrived. He may well be termed the Joseph Conrad among playwrights. He is a painstaking workman, a psychologist, and an gauger of character by the Shakespearian plumbline. The last play of the collection is a remarkable one-act drama, "The Rope," which was produced by The Washington Square Players. While it is not the most pleasing of the six either as an acting or as a reading play, it is a good measuring rod for new American dramatic work. Few among the new plays equal this ironic commentary upon debased human nature's greed for gold, or symbolize so well by means of the sea, the great wash of Time that makes worthless even gold.

Because the processes of civilization, changes in social structure, revolutions in ideas, cataclysms of war, etc., are revealed more intensely in the plays of the period than in fiction, or even history, "Representative British Dramas" deserves many readers beyond the numbers of those who are especially interested in plays. The twenty-one plays, which are exceedingly well edited, with prefaces and notes by Mr. Montrose Moses, record the development of British life as seen through the lens of the stage from the time of "Virginus," by James Sheridan Knowles (1820), to "The Gods of the Mountain," by Lord Dunsany (1913). Synge, Pinero, Wilde, C. G. K. Barker are included among the dramatists. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.)